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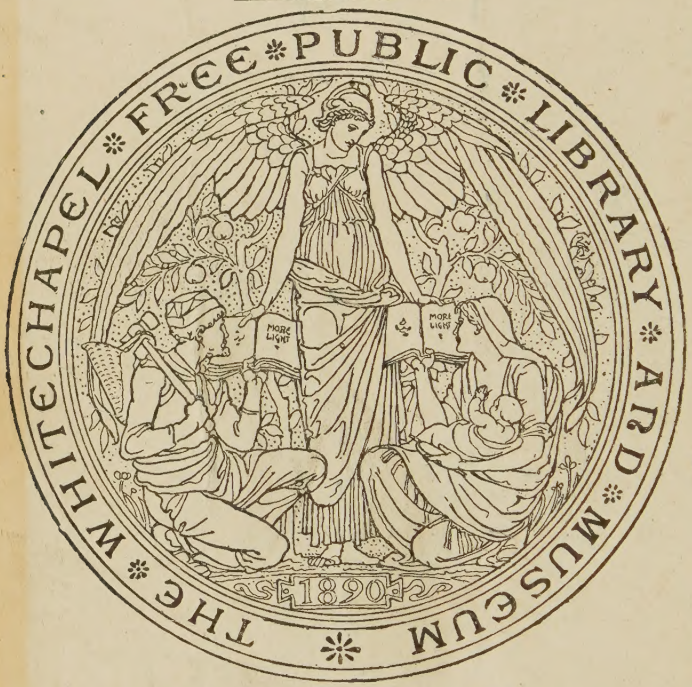

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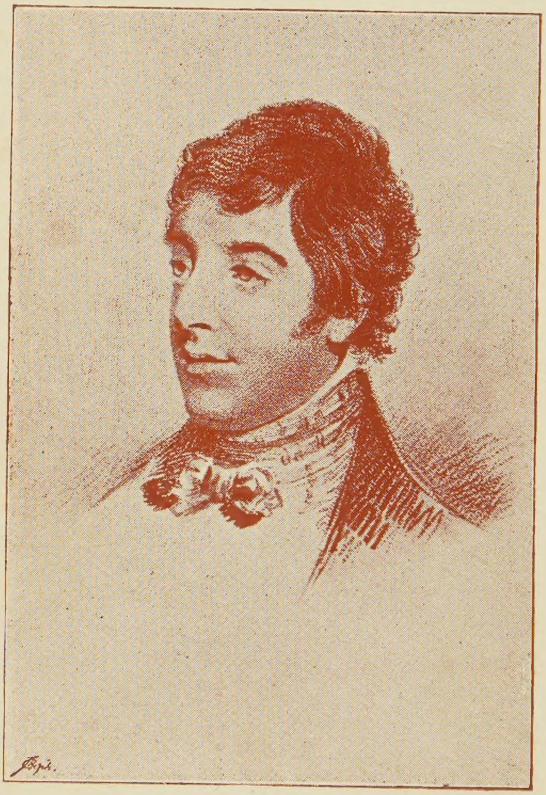

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD.

IRELAND IN '98

Sketches of the Principal Men of the Time

BASED UPON THE PUBLISHED VOLUMES AND SOME UNPUBLISHED MSS

OF THE LATE DR RICHARD ROBERT MADDEN

WITH ENGRAVED PORTRAITS AND CONTEMPORARY ILLUSTRATIONS

f 6801

EDITED BY

J. BOWLES DALY, LL.D.

AUTHOR OF 'BROKEN IDEALS' 'RADICAL PIONEERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY'
'IRELAND IN THE DAYS OF DEAN SWIFT' 'STORM HEROES'

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PREFACE.

IRELAND is now under the magnifying glass of public opinion ; her past, present, and future, the subjects of anxious and thoughtful deliberation to faithful English friends. There can be no doubt, therefore, that a short history, based upon the most trustworthy documents, and dealing with a memorable period of English legislation—that of '98—will be of service. The present volume supplies information which no other work of the day can possibly furnish. Much credit is due to Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., for their enterprise in purchasing the valuable manuscripts of the late Dr. Madden, as well as in supplying portraits of the leading men of the time and some rare old prints of the period. Dr. Madden was a voluminous writer, a great traveller, and a philanthropist, whose services were recognised by the country, and who gave powerful assistance in the abolition of the slave trade. As Colonial Secretary, his services were recognised by the Colonies and the English Government. His son, Thomas More

Madden, M.D., cherishes a sincere regard for his revered father, and possesses valuable documents relating to his life, which he intends publishing. Dr. Madden's greatest energies were devoted to his country, and, with the view of vindicating the aspersed memory of Ireland's noblest sons, he collected every shred of information connected with the men of '98; crossed the Atlantic, and interviewed relatives, friends, enemies, and followers, to accomplish his object. As might be expected, this information accumulated into a large mass of materials; halting old age, in the meantime, crept in, and prevented him from giving to the world the results of his indefatigable toil in the shape and form it deserved. Some of those manuscripts were placed in my hands, and I have sifted, selected, and arranged them in a cohesive form. I thought first of giving Dr. Madden's words as closely as I could, but wider knowledge of the subject induced me to abandon this plan, owing to the mass of extraneous matter, repetitions, and what appeared to me unnecessary details. I have used the materials before me as a text to go on, rejecting what I believe to be irrelevant, supplying many gaps from the copious notes and other sources, and aiming at giving as representative a sketch of the times as is needed. My critics who are acquainted with Dr. Madden's volumes on United Irishmen will appreciate my method and the labour

it entailed ; should any object to my plan, I cheerfully take the consequences, and only ask that the author of the manuscripts may not be made responsible for my shortcomings. I have approached the task with some confidence, having devoted several years to elucidating the rise of the Radical movement in England given in my 'Radical Pioneers of the Eighteenth Century,' which has been well received by the public, and the same pains have been taken in the present selection. My main desire is to put before the mass of English readers a true report of the most stirring and eventful chapters of Ireland's history, suggesting valuable lessons to the legislators of the day. I am also proud to admit and glad to acknowledge that the Irish question has now approached its termination. Thank God, the hatchet is buried, and the old animosity which, for centuries, divided two peoples is fading away like clouds before the sun. The old jealous feeling is fast dying out, and the grateful hearts of Irishmen in every country and clime will rally round England, proud of their common empire and ready to shed their blood in its defence. When Ireland is allowed to regulate her own affairs and develop her resources, she will look up to England, as a young brother reveres the head of the house ; England will also regard Ireland with respect, no longer as a younger brother dependent on the bounty of the elder. Ireland will

be considered a creditable addition to the old family ; proud of its traditions, devoted to its interests, and honoured by being a conjoint member of the greatest, the wealthiest, and most humane nation in the universe. If this history is in any way instrumental in bringing about this much-wished-for consummation, by opening the eyes of friends and foes alike to the evils of the past, I shall feel thankful for the double privilege of being helpful to my country and useful to the land of my adoption. I have only to request those who do me the honour of perusing these pages to believe that the gleanings of history here displayed have been collected, not to furnish 'fire' to inflame the minds of any, but to supply 'light' into dark places, where only too many deeds of violence were committed.

J. BOWLES DALY.

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INTRODUCTION.

The day has at last dawned and the great clock of Time has chimed the quarter previous to the hour when the large heart of the English nation will be roused to concede rights long claimed by the Irish people, but hitherto denied by profligate and interested rulers. The banner long trailed in the mire, trampled upon, despised and denounced, has been picked up and borne to the front by W. E. Gladstone, the greatest statesman of the century, supported by the sympathy of the people of England, Scotland, and Wales. Much credit is due to the chieftain who has had the courage to break with old companionship in carrying his plan into operation, and consecrating the last days of his busy and glorious political life to an act of reparation for the misdeeds of his predecessors. And further credit is due to the Irish contingent who closed their ranks and, for the first time in their stormy career, presented an unbroken phalanx, demanding a domestic Parliament to administer to the wants of their country.

We write a report of the men of '98 to meet a practical want of the day and hour, as the great mass

of Englishmen are ignorant of the history of Ireland. They do not know the hundredth part of the crimes that have been perpetrated against that country in their name and by their authority. Educated Englishmen know more of the Peloponnesian wars than of the wars of Ireland, native and Saxon ; are more at home in the siege of Troy than the siege of Limerick ; are better read in the laws of Solon and Lycurgus than in the Penal Code against Irish Catholics. The time is come when this must be changed. The English people must inform themselves of the facts of Irish history, and the state of things which has grown out of these facts. For some time past the Irish question has absorbed the mind of the day, pushed every other topic aside, and has at last obtained pre-eminence. Nothing is more conducive to the final settlement of the difficulty than a close acquaintance with those events out of which the present perplexities have mainly arisen.

To understand the motive which caused the rebellion of 1798 it is necessary to look backward to the seventy or eighty years preceding that period. No people ever rebelled without adequate cause ; and to detail the sieges and battles of a civil war without a previous understanding of the exciting causes would be futile. The outbreak of '98 did not begin with that year ; the evil which led to it had been fermenting generations before ; it was not a sudden whim of popular passion, but the culmination of years of misrule, the crisis of the fever. Here we must ask what

was the previous condition of Ireland, the spirit of her laws, the character of her Government?

During the eighteenth century there existed in Ireland two classes, one servile and the other tyrannical, living on the same soil, but without moral or social community, severed by a gulf of religious hatred as wide and as impassable as that described by Lazarus. Five-sixths of the Irish people stood to the remaining one-sixth as slaves and enemies, as slaves despised, as enemies hated, degraded, and proscribed. A small bigoted oligarchy ruled the island, wielding the powers of Government in the spirit of a garrison in an enemy's country. Five-sixths of the Irish people were excluded from every privilege, office, emolument, corporate right, and political franchise. The diabolical character of the administration cannot be adequately understood in our day, its cold-blooded atrocity can only be dimly imagined, and yet this pernicious system continued for three-quarters of a century without let or hindrance. The infamous enactments of the Penal Code grew by what they fed on; we spare the reader its odious and disgusting details. But it must be distinctly borne in mind that the Irish Catholic Penal Code was not constructed in a hurry, not instituted to meet a sudden emergency like recent Coercion Acts; it was deliberately planned, slowly perfected, calmly executed, and carefully spread out over ninety years of the national existence. This science of persecution—for it admits of no other name

—was protracted and amended, not by an ignorant fanatic or a brutal bigot, but by the pink and pattern of gentlemanly decorum—Lord Castlereagh, whose latest refinement was a law enacting that a marriage celebrated between Protestant and Papist should be annulled, and that the priest who solemnised such a marriage should be hanged by the neck like a dog.

During all those ninety years the Irish Catholics never once showed a disposition to rebel. In the revolt of 1715, in that of 1745, they were quiet and loyal. In 1759, when a French invasion was expected in the South, the Catholics came forward with a tender of their allegiance and an offer of money to aid the Government. They were all along patient and quiet from broken-spiritedness, submissive under every fresh infliction, grateful for the smallest relaxation in the execution of the Code of Intolerance. Still the system went on ; every session added some new act of pains and penalties. Burke, in his letter to Sir Hercules Langrish, states with truth, they were 'manifestly the effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample upon, and were not afraid to provoke.' The whole Code expressed the insolence of a tyrannical faction, fond of monopoly, proud of its superiority of race, and confident in the irresistible might of England to back all its misdoings. As Arthur Young says : 'The domineering aristocracy of 500,000 Protestants feel the sweets of having two million slaves.' This

domineering spirit we meet everywhere in the Ireland of the eighteenth century. Legislators ignored the existence of five-sixths of their own people; landlords ground the poor with every imaginable insolence and oppression. Add to this the constant grating and rasping nuisance of the Church, alien and intrusive, with tithe-proctors for its apostles, armed constabulary for its evangelists, and its divine service of writs and bailiffs. What could come of such a combination but insurrection, outrage, and murder—the stern savage sense of justice, which will take a wild revenge on its oppressors?

In 1762 the Whiteboys sprang into force; they were the first of those combinations of misery against oppression which continued through the Oakboys, Rightboys, Defenders, Ribbonmen, Fenians, down to the men who support the Plan of Campaign. The first of these waged a savage war of outraged nature against a yet more savage social state, which, in practice as in theory, refused to recognise the existence of the people. And what had the Protestant landlord Parliament to say to Whiteboyism? Why, it appointed a select committee '*to inquire into the causes and progress of the Popish insurrection in the province of Munster*,' as if a man could not rise against unnatural oppression without believing in Transubstantiation and the Seven Sacraments. Irish Whiteboyism was simply a barbarous insurgency of nature against oppressive law—the Jacobinism of poverty taking wild revenge on the Jacobinism of wealth.

These indiscriminate riots and insurrections—by whatever name they were called—were not the offspring of the Popish persuasion, but of continuous and malignant laws. No specific reference to these abominations is needed. Witnesses drawn from the stews and gallows, bribed with the people's money, clothed and fed at the people's cost, drilled in Dublin Castle and marshalled by the Castle officials into a battalion of Testimony; these still continue in a modified form, and it is to their door the wretchedness, misery, and degradation of Ireland is to be laid. Such was the social and political condition of Ireland during the eighteenth century.

The rebellion of 1798 was not a Catholic but an Irish rebellion, which began, not with the Catholics of the South but with the Protestants of the North, and its ultimate aim was not Catholic ascendency but Irish independence. It had Protestants for its directing head, Catholics for its executive members, and Irish national independence for its object. The rebellion of '98 was the confluence of two streams of political discontent, meeting in the organisation of the Society of United Irishmen. This united action was not a movement of Catholics against Protestants, nor of Protestants against Catholics, but of Irishmen against Great Britain. The first Society of United Irishmen grew out of the ashes of the Volunteers and the disappointed hopes of the legislative revolution of 1782; the Volunteers grew out of the parliamentary and popular opposition to British government

which had shown itself at intervals almost from the beginning of the century, and had gone on steadily widening and deepening from the accession of George III. to the American war.

The grievances which arose during the eighteenth century between Protestant Ireland and Protestant England, and which gradually created the spirit of Anglo-Irish nationality, effected a legal revolution in 1782, and attempted a military one in 1798.

The revolution of 1688 placed the Protestant Anglo-Irish colony in a condition of servitude and vassalage to Great Britain. Ireland had then a domestic Parliament, but it was a slave as well as a tyrant, impotent for all purposes but those of domestic corruption and oppression. This Parliament did not possess the power to legislate for the country it nominally governed. It acted under the influence of an Attorney-General whose office dated back to the days of Henry VII.; it could only frame heads of bills, which heads had to be submitted to the Lord-Lieutenant and his Privy Council, who might, or might not, at their discretion, transmit them to England for the approval of the English Crown and Privy Council, whence they might, or might not, return altered or unaltered at their discretion; and it was only after this double process of filtration that any residuum of legislation could be realised. The Irish House of Commons had liberty to debate and vote what had been debated and voted twice over already in the Irish and English Councils.

This tame-cat legislation had not even a veto on Irish legislation.

The British Parliament claimed and exercised the right of legislating at pleasure over the heads of the despised and powerless assembly in College Green—cramping Irish trade, governing the Irish Church, ordering the sale of forfeited estates, and in all matters directing the affairs of Ireland according to their own liking, as if Ireland had no Parliament of her own.

On this right being feebly contested by the Irish peers in the days of George I., all doubts were quickly cleared away by a Declaratory Act, extinguishing the appellate jurisdiction assumed by the Irish House of Lords, and establishing the right of the British legislature to make laws for and levy taxes on Ireland, in the same manner as the colonial dependencies of the British crown. It was only a just and fair retribution, and it becomes a positive pleasure to record that, as this Irish Parliament ignored the existence of the Irish people, the English Government ignored the existence of the Irish Parliament.

The usurped right of Great Britain to legislate for Ireland was full of consequences. It systematically aimed at the degradation and impoverishment of all that part of the Irish people whose degradation was not already effected by their own domestic legislation.

In 1698 the English House of Lords besought

King William to crush the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland. The Dutchman promptly answered that 'he would take care to do what their lordships desired,' and he kept his word.

The Irish House of Commons complained bitterly of this act, but in vain. The tyranny of the mother country was not borne patiently. The men of the Protestant ascendency had English blood in their veins. More than half of them were Presbyterians, descendants of Cromwell's soldiers, 'the spawn of the old Covenant,' opposed to the prelacy, leavened with Puritanism and Republicanism; not even loyal to either Church or King, and riotously opposed to the notion of a union with Great Britain.

This republican temper of a large portion of the Protestant population of Ireland was the germ, first, of a growing parliamentary opposition to the measures of the English Government, and ultimately of the Volunteer Association and the revolution of 1782.

The new spark of Irish independent nationality was not found among the debilitated, pauperised Catholics of the South, but among the Protestants of the North.

This feeling of Irish nationality gave early indications of its existence. It was declared by Molyneaux in his celebrated treatise in 1698, and listened to by willing ears, both in Parliament and out of it. His book was formally condemned by a vote of the English Commons, and ordered to be burned by the hangman. Yet not the less did this first

assertion, by a Protestant of Irish nationality and independence, sink into the heart of his country. It aided the great national struggle of 1782, when the English interest in Ireland openly proclaimed itself an Irish interest, and refused, sword in hand, to be bound by Acts of Parliament in England.

The first political occurrence which developed an anti-English feeling in Ireland was the business of 'Wood's halfpence.' About the middle of the reign of George I., a man named Wood got a patent from the English Government for coining copper halfpence for Irish circulation, to the amount of 108,000*l.*, which coinage he made up of such base material that the whole mass together was not worth the odd 8,000*l.* All Ireland rose against the insulting cheat. Dean Swift's Drapier's letters were cried about the streets for a penny each, and pasted up all over the country; and the matter ended in rescinding the patent, calling in the halfpence, and the triumph of the Irish people over the British Government. Small as the affair seemed to be, it was no trifle in the eyes of the English Cabinet. This was seen in the letters of Primate Boulter, the dexterous manager of the then English interest in Ireland. Altogether, this affair of Wood's halfpence, trivial as it appears at this distance of time, is not without its significance for us, and is well worth notice in the history of the men of '98. Never had Ireland stronger cause to fling off the incubus of English interest and rise from her political torpor. The Anglo-Irish Government at this

time was corrupt, anti-national, and utterly sordid and contemptible. The country was nominally ruled by a Viceroy, but in reality by Lords Justices. The legislature was, like the executive, corrupt; the Irish Parliament represented nothing but monied and aristocratic power; but the specific character of its rottenness lay in the fact that two or three grandees held the whole country, its honours and emoluments, in the palms of their hands. These entered into stipulations with the Lord-Lieutenant to carry the King's business through the House, and were known by the doubtful title of 'undertakers,' of whom Lord Charlemont said, 'they were well fitted to preside over the funeral of this commonwealth.' Eventually the system was found unmanageable.

A public national spirit continued to grow and work in the Protestant population, and every day it began to assume a more formidable dimension. The merit of organising this opposition belonged to Lucas, who for thirty years led the opposition to the English interest. What was more remarkable, this same Lucas was of obscure origin, badly educated and of unsteady temper, but a patriot, honest and true to the core. Lucas began his political career by a well-merited attack on certain civil abuses in the corporation of Dublin, and ultimately on the British Government. The Castle was frightened, and determined to crush him; he had to fly the country; but on the accession of George III., when he returned to Dublin, he was sent to agitate in Parlia-

ment as a member for the city. No man did better service.

From this time forth, Irish politics assumed a higher tone and a greater importance. The appropriation question in the reign of George II. was more than a dispute of parliamentary form and privilege. It aided and quickened the growth of a spirit of nationality and independence. It showed the rising power of the Opposition, for in a short time it forced the Government to overhaul the pension list.

The new Parliament summoned on the death of George II. gave fresh strength to the Opposition. The first years of his reign were spent on the question of limiting the duration of parliaments. Hitherto the Irish House of Commons had continued undisturbed during the King's lifetime, unless dissolved by prorogation.

The Parliament of George II. had sat through the entire reign of that king—a period of thirty-three years. The members outlived all recollection of their constituents, and refused to acknowledge any responsibility to the country. The Irish member's tenure of his seat was practically a life estate. The jobbery, venality, rapacity, and corruption resulting from such a state of things made this life tenancy a glaring evil. For the first eight years of George III.'s reign, the grand measure of the patriots was to correct this, and procure a septennial parliament. A measure for abridging their own tenure of power could not be acceptable to the majority of the new

House of Commons, yet the pressure from without, and the pertinacity of the minority within, made it not safe to reject the measure. A middle course was devised. The embarrassed legislature had recourse to this old, clumsy device of passing the heads of this Septennial Bill and trusting to the Lord-Lieutenant and his Council to stop further progress of a measure which would curtail their power. Two successive sessions were wasted by the delay. But this game could not continue. Metropolitan and county meetings and petitions disclosed a fast-growing popular determination to be no longer trifled with by 'undertakers' or ministerial obstruction. To the great consternation of the Dublin officials, the Bill was returned, the Privy Council having altered the proposed term of seven years to eight.

The people, however, profited very little by this change, for the Octennial Bill only enhanced the value of borough property by bringing it oftener into the market. Distress, crime, and political corruption continued as much as ever.

In the meantime the Government, by undertaking to secure this progress of the King's business, or rather to promote the convenience of the King's friends, was found to be troublesome and expensive. A new system was proposed by the English Cabinet, and Lord Townshend, as Viceroy, was appointed to conduct it. The new method was worse than the former: a greater bungle could not be contrived; it was a system of casting out devils by Beelzebub, the

prince of the devils. The plan briefly consisted in breaking down the political monopoly of aristocracy by throwing open the trade in bribes, pensions, and places to a more general competition. The intervention of the undertaker between the dispensers of patronage and the recipients was abolished; the resources of the Castle treasury were brought to bear on every separate vote.

Townshend put all his faith in the efficacy of well-directed bribery. His lordship's zeal for the Protestant faith was exhibited by offering a bribe of 30*l.* to 40*l.* a year pension to priests who conformed to the Protestant faith. The wits of the day called them Townshend's golden drops. The new system continued from 1767 to 1771, the whole period of Townshend's viceroyalty. This measure of corruption thoroughly demoralised the country; for the stream of favours increased till the source of remuneration was well-nigh exhausted. A new factor was added which increased the difficulty: the rebellion of the American subjects broke out, and the war which followed found Ireland with a bankrupt exchequer, an imbecile Government, and an impoverished and disaffected people. The Irish manufacturers were ruined by the stoppage of the American trade, prevented from emigrating, and compelled to stay crowded up at home; the provision trade was crushed by embargoes, plundering Ireland to enrich three or four London contractors. Dublin Castle began to feel the bottom of an exhausted treasury; every branch

of the revenue was failing; a militia force could not be raised for want of funds; everywhere reigned sullen despondency, relieved by a malicious satisfaction at seeing England in a difficulty, for Ireland sympathised with America, knowing that her cause was theirs. National insolvency at home and abroad paralysed the right arm of 'English interest.'

The old system of Catholic vassalage to British ascendency was worn out, the whole machinery out of gear. It was in the year 1777, when driven like a rat in a corner, that the British minister began to make up his mind to grant a modicum of commercial and Catholic emancipation as the only way of saving Ireland's allegiance.

The war went on; matters became critical. The capture of the British army in October was the signal for France, and afterwards Spain and Holland, to recognise and aid the young American republic. Privateers of the allies swept the seas. The people of Belfast applied to the Castle for protection; a French invasion was menaced. Dublin Castle was at its wits' end; all the available force they could send was a troop or two of horse and a part of a company of invalids. A bastard officialism, which did not recognise the existence of five-sixths of its subjects, had no protection to give the remaining one-sixth. The whole system of government came down with a rush; it was time, by all the laws of heaven and earth, that it should be demolished.

In 1778 the old *régime* of corruption and force

expended itself; it was a condition of total collapse. Buckingham, the Irish Viceroy, solicited the English Premier, much as a bankrupt prodigal petitions his father for remittances. It was all to no purpose ; no supplies were forthcoming, for Lord North was fully employed in endeavouring to crush the rebellious American subjects. Ireland was thrown back on herself, and never did a country develop richer resources on an emergency. The Volunteer epoch was the brightest spot in the whole of the gloomy annals of Ireland ; the metropolis, counties, towns, and villages poured forth their hosts of armed citizens, self paid and self commanded—even the poor outcast Catholics remembered the country which had forgotten them, and were ready to shed their hearts' blood for a constitution which had not deigned to recognise their existence.

The Volunteer era was a blessed time for Ireland. Despite her accumulated miseries and wrongs, she had at the call of her country become hopeful and happy. The object of the Volunteer institution was instantaneously accomplished, and the menaced French invasion effectually prevented. The citizen soldiers soon found other work to do—the redress of political wrongs and the attainment of political rights. We have stated that the distress in Ireland all this time was great ; the complaints of the restricted, embargoed, and pauperised manufacturers at length found their way to England, and would have received attention at the hands of

well-meaning statesmen at the head of affairs, were it not that the manufacturing towns of England and Scotland took alarm at the first sign of an abatement of the monopoly which law and embargoes gave them, and sent up petition after petition, predicting the ruin of the cotton trade and threatening rebellion if the hands of Irish industry were untied. Ireland in consequence was left to starve a little longer. The Volunteers, however, grew in numbers and in zeal, and the people had at last recourse to the policy recommended by Swift, retaliating exclusion with exclusion, monopoly with monopoly. Non-importation resolutions were adopted all over the country and stringently enforced. The Government tried to put them down, and the Lord-Lieutenant met Parliament with a speech made up of the usual flummery, commonplace, regal and viceregal eloquence; but he was answered by Henry Grattan in a speech unrivalled in cogent reasoning, setting forth the wants of the people, and plainly intimating that nothing but a free trade could save the nation from impending ruin. This settled the question; further resistance was useless. On the result being known, the drums beat to arms, the citizen army marched through the streets, the sun shone down on their flashing arms as they went in procession to the Castle, quickening the viceregal deliberations with the pointed arguments of fixed bayonets. The Dublin Artillery appeared on parade with their cannon labelled—

'Free Trade or This!——'

The powers of Great Britain were now fairly committed. The struggle went on; partial and illusory concessions offered one after another, the offer in every instance coming too late to be effectual for even a momentary conciliation. The ministers had come to the conclusion that *something must be done.* Recent events had so far quickened legislation and ministerial activity that bills brought forward received the royal assent in a few weeks. A new question now began to stir the minds of Irishmen: they asked 'What is this British legislation? Who gave a set of people sitting in Westminster, whom none of us ever saw, a power to open and shut our ports and bind and loose our industry?' The doctrine of Molyneaux sprang from the ashes of the hangman's fire; it became the faith of all Ireland. The case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of an English Parliament was not only 'stated,' but solved. From this time forth Irishmen resolved that they would obey no other laws than those enacted by King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland. But the time had not come yet. In the meantime the people looked, not to their representatives, but to themselves. The Volunteers went on growing in numbers and in spirit; the moral and physical forces of Ireland were collecting and concentrating themselves for a grand crowning effort. New memories of French invasion stimulated their exertions and warmed their zeal. During the fogs of November 1781 the news came that a second British army had surrendered to the hardy raw

recruits of the Americans. Delegates from the Volunteers met in Armagh to consider the state of the nation. They issued a manifesto which struck terror into the hearts of the selfish hirelings of Dublin Castle, who did everything they could to prevent the meeting and sow dissension among the promoters, but all in vain. These men were of the 'old solemn League and Covenant,' difficult to cajole and impossible to frighten. On February 15, 1782, 200 armed and equipped delegates, men of the best brains and rank of Ireland, filled with one spirit and united in one will, marched two and two into the old church of Dungannon, not with drums beating or colours flying, but with firm looks and compressed lips—a tremendous power of silence—and then and there, after a calm and deliberate discussion, formulated their celebrated and never-to-be-forgotten resolutions. They also asserted a desire to relax the Catholic Penal Code, and finished by appointing a committee of their body to sit in Dublin and communicate with the Volunteer Association of the other provinces of Ireland. This was the famous Dungannon Convention. Its effect was electrical; meetings were called in every town and village in Ireland, and the Dungannon resolutions were echoed in east, west, north, and south of the island.

The ministers now found that it was time not only that '*something*,' but that everything should be done, if England did not mean to lose Ireland altogether. Six weeks afterwards the North ministry went

out, the Duke of Portland arrived in Dublin as the King's minister of justice, and the Whigs came into power. Those moderate, well-intentioned statesmen knew very little about Ireland; they wished to delay matters and commenced shuffling, but the time for vacillation and empty promises had passed. Instant concession or instant revolution was Grattan's alternative.

April 16 arrived, and found all Ireland united as one man, the Dublin streets lined with Volunteer troops under arms, tranquil but resolute, who let their very enemies pass through their ranks to vote away their liberties without an angry word. What the Government would do no living man knew, but it was the one question on the lips and hearts of the waiting throng. Never had an orator such an audience, and never was the old Parliament of College Green so crammed with the rank, talent, beauty, and valour of Ireland as assembled there at four o'clock. What was wanting was to transfer the Dungannon resolutions to the Commons Journal. The speech made by Henry Grattan was worthy of Ireland, of himself, and this great occasion. He concluded by moving an address to the House assuring his Majesty 'that his subjects of Ireland are a free people, and that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; nor any Parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatsoever in this country save only the Parliament of Ireland.'

Happily for Great Britain, the Lord-Lieutenant was empowered to meet Parliament with a suitable reply, granting all the rational and just propositions. Then followed a glorious but short-lived epoch: down went the Act of Philip and Mary; down went the obnoxious statute of George I.; the Mutiny Bill was limited; restrictions on Irish trade vanished; the ports were opened; the judges were made irremovable and independent. The year 1783 was one of promise. Ireland stood rich in all the raw material of national power and greatness; her industry liberated from shackles, and her self-respect secured from the insult of foreign legislation; her Parliament patriotic and her people united. Catholic and Protestant for a while forgot, the one his servitude, the other his ascendency, in the amity of common citizenship; the Volunteer army doing the work of military and police, keeping the peace at home and averting war from abroad—holding France in check and extorting concessions from England, emancipated from the control of the British legislature, while still sharing the protection of the British crown. Independent Ireland seemed about to take her place in the great family of European nations, under circumstances in every way favourable to a vigorous and healthy national life.

All this promise, however, was only like one of those bright summer days which dawn on Ireland, followed by intermittent flashes of lightning, black thunder-clouds, persistent fog, and unceasing rain. The national rejoicings and thanksgivings of May

1782 were not well over before it was discovered that a final adjustment was not yet reached, that the so-called finality was a fraud and a delusion with which the craft of a foreign cabinet and the treachery of a domestic legislature had conspired to abuse the confidence of a simple, credulous people. Great Britain repealed the Act of 6th George I. declaratory of her right to make laws for Ireland. To repeal this law was to withdraw the declaration, to bring matters back to where they were when the declaration was first made ; and it was found that it would always remain competent to England to renew the declaration. Great Britain had not disclaimed her assumed right of legislating for Ireland ; she only, for convenience' sake, scored out from her statute-book a particular form of words asserting the right, leaving it open to her to re-assert this right at such time and in such form as she might think proper. So Ireland had gained simply nothing by this repeal : it only put the question back to where it stood in the fifth year of the reign of George I. What England should have done was to have renounced this alleged right of legislating for Ireland from the beginning.

Lawyers' quibbles were the occasion of a party schism which was the worst possible consequence to the peace and freedom of Ireland. It marred the victory of 1782, divided the power of the people, separated the leaders of the country, strengthened the hands of the oppressors, and finally exploded in discontent in '98. What was worse, it gave the old

discomfited Court party a breathing time for recovery. The repeal and renunciation controversy which separated Flood and Grattan was barren, and resulted in nothing but disaster to the dearly-fought-for independence. At this distance of time, when the smoke and fume of party have melted into thin air, we can see that the independence of Ireland rested, not on any act of repeal or of renunciation, but on her own union and strength, and whatever marred that union and impaired that strength went to the undoing of all that had been effected by the struggle of the preceding period.

Seven years had scarcely passed when two constitutional questions of magnitude and importance cropped up, interrupting the harmony of the two countries and indicating an anomaly in their relations only to be solved by separation or incorporation. So long as Ireland could keep up the spirit and power of the armed union which won her independence, so long her independence was safe; as soon as Ireland ceased to do so, her independence was gone. From the time that the two countries began to return to their old and habitual relations of superiority and inferiority, England gradually began to regain that which she had lost. No declarations, repeals, red tape, or lawyers' documents could ever make the independence complete. England, the stronger of the two, had been humbled by Ireland, the weaker; and England could not but be jealous and Ireland suspicious.

The viceregal and parliamentary assurance, that 'no constitutional question between the two countries would any longer exist which could interrupt their harmony,' was of precisely the same value as that of an oath or a salutation, which looked plausible but might mean absolutely nothing. On the whole, never was a nation more mistaken than Ireland in thinking that England, by repealing this or renouncing that, made her independent. At that juncture, only a war of separation, sharp and bloody as that which severed the American colonies from the mother country, could secure such independence.

Ireland made an immense effort and gained a great victory, but it was one full of peril, and could only be retained by the continuous exertion of the energies by which it had been won. The armed Irish people had effected a peaceful revolution—achieved the independence of their legislature. But liberty, justice, good government, wise laws honestly administered, were farther off than ever. The Irish Parliament was now independent of the British; but unfortunately it was equally independent of the Irish people, who had no voice in its return. What could be expected but a new domestic tyranny in face of the old foreign supremacy? The seven devils were ejected; the house, swept and garnished, only prepared for the occupancy of a new tenantry a hundred times worse than the former. Parliamentary independence without parliamentary reform was only an exchange of one mode of oppression and misgovern-

ment for another perhaps worse. It is plain that the work was only half done.

The disgraceful war with America had one good effect on England—it roused her to the necessity of parliamentary reform. Ireland took up the cry and set about purifying and popularising the constitution of her emancipated Parliament. A vigorous and active correspondence sprang up between the reformers in Ireland and Major Cartwright, Horne Tooke, and the leaders of the popular movement in England. The first mistake was made by the Volunteer reformers at Dungannon. It was a serious one, and brought with it condign punishment. There is a grim irony in the fact that a single mistake in youth will sometimes mar the future of the man and dog his steps to the grave. The same fate attends a nation, as we shall see presently. The Volunteers were unanimous on most points, but divided on one. And here let it be remembered that the assembly who met to strengthen and purify their constitution consisted of the best that Ireland could furnish in talent, rank, eloquence, and patriotism. Determined to be free, they had not made up their minds to be just; their demand for rights was not inconsistent with the continued infliction of the grossest wrongs on five-sixths of their countrymen; their notion of an extensive reform did not extend to the reform of the worst grievance of all—the political slavery of the Catholic millions. Here the Protestant ascendency spirit spoke out again: it was proposed that the elective franchise

should be given to Catholics, and, through the influence of Lord Charlemont and his friends, this liberal and just measure was rejected. Here was a taint of bigotry, exclusiveness, and injustice which eventually shipwrecked the party.

The grand national convention chosen by the people for the purification and reform of the other Parliament of aristocratic, ministerial, and corporation nominees, sat in the Rotunda, within view of the Commons House of Parliament. The Volunteers marched to it with cheers, cannon, musketry, music, and general acclamation. Never was a greater mistake perpetrated. The existence of such an assembly was an anomaly. Their first step downward was characteristic: they elected as their president Lord Charlemont, a virtuous, weak-minded, timorous Whig nobleman, whose anti-Catholic prejudices had already done some mischief, and he soon did more. When the Castle authorities heard of his appointment they breathed more freely, and after that the old game of plotting and deceit went on.

The convention sat for three weeks, debating and discussing in regular parliamentary form the various plans for popular representation; the Lord-Lieutenant and Privy Council meanwhile holding their sittings midway between the two parliaments, and receiving alternate reports of the proceedings of each. At last a Reform Bill was ready, brought in by Flood. The Liberal and eccentric Bishop of Derry's notion of giving the franchise to Catholics

was scouted by large majorities. The Government opposed it, and now came the tug of war. The convention had no alternative except resistance or dissolution. At the advice of Charlemont, they chose the latter. This weak, backboneless representative of aristocracy thought more of the peace of his country than of its freedom. He caused a loyal address to be voted to the King and dissolved the convention. The select committee who helped their chairman in this shabby trick, left the Rotunda, and when the great body of the delegates arrived they found the doors closed, the chairman gone, and learned with amazement that the Grand National Convention was over.

This was the first and most fatal blow to the Volunteers ; after that their influence on the destinies of Ireland was practically *nil*. They measured their strength with the Parliament, and the Parliament had come off victorious. The Catholic question had divided, and the prejudice which respected the legality of a rotten legislature paralysed them. They fell, and with them fell the last hope of peace, freedom, and good government for Ireland. They did not disband immediately. For some ten years the national pride was indulged in uniforms, marching, exercising, and vain display ; but the living body had become a corpse. Never had a noble beginning a more impotent conclusion than this business of the Volunteers.

The agitation for reform did not amount to much. In 1784 another Protestant Reform Bill was brought

in, only to be rejected; the result was a riot and a Government attack on the freedom of the press, with all sorts of violences and allegations on both sides, in which it was hard to say which party behaved the worst. Soon after, those disposed to sympathise with the Catholics summoned a grand national congress in Dublin. Fitzgibbon, the Attorney-General, without being over-nice on the point of legality, sat upon the congress, prosecuted magistrates, printers, and publishers. The spirit of the nation was weakened by party division, its heart sick with disappointment, for Irishmen had not yet learned the art of peaceful constitutional agitation.

The country was now left in the hands of her old corrupt Parliament, the irresponsible rulers of the people. The independent Parliament was found to transcend in shameless and sordid tyranny all that had ever been previously imagined of misgovernment in Ireland. The change for the worse was owing to the new relations which the revolution of 1782 had established between the two countries. Before, independence had been desirable, but it was now absolutely necessary to Great Britain to command a majority in the Irish House of Commons. A dependent legislature in Dublin might be safely allowed so long as a supreme British Parliament existed to overawe its petulance and check with a strong hand its aberrations from the line of British policy. A British majority in the Irish House of Commons was now an essential condition of the

integrity of the Empire; that majority should be attained, whatever might be the cost. The Empire could not stand if the two Parliaments were not at one in politics; they must keep together somehow, or there would come a war of separation. Hence arose a system of parliamentary bribery unparalleled in the history of Parliaments; carried on on a scale of wildest prodigality from the revolution of '82 down to the year of the union.

The policy of England required that the British ministers should be quite sure of an Irish majority to work smoothly along with the British majority. It was only too successful, for the British ministers usually commanded the votes of two-thirds of the Irish House of Commons. Two questions, however, were decided according to the national spirit. The Irish Parliament asserted its independence and nationality, and on this the English Prime Minister resolved that at the first favourable opportunity the Irish Parliament should cease to exist, and that the independent nationality should be absorbed in a legislative union.

The first of these were the commercial propositions of Mr. Pitt in 1785. Their object was in its way excellent: they meant to promote the commercial equality of the two countries with reference to foreign trade, only it was an attempt to get back the power of Great Britain to legislate for Ireland. It was a proposition for making the Irish legislature a mere registration office for British Acts of Parlia-

ment, a union which would preserve the existence of the Irish Parliament after it had lost its authority. This was a thing not to be endured; the whole country turned against it. The commercial propositions were received with scorn and indignation; after a debate of eighteen hours the ministerial majority was so small that the plan was abandoned. Pitt never forgot or forgave this defeat, and henceforth he turned his mind towards a legislative union.

The next explosion of Irish parliamentary independence was in 1789 on the Regency question. Pitt carried through both Houses of the British legislature a Bill extending the Regency of Great Britain to the Prince of Wales, as long as the malady of his father, George III., continued. The minister expected that Ireland would follow the example of Great Britain. Orders were sent to Dublin Castle to manage the Irish Parliament by every method of bribery, and not to call the Houses together till the Viceroy was sure of a majority. Powers were lavishly used and the orders obeyed, but all in vain. Dublin Castle and the British Treasury could not carry this point.

The Irish Nationalists, thinking the King would not recover, supposed that it would be a good stroke of policy to secure the regards of the Prince and his new Cabinet by giving him the power and prerogative which Great Britain had refused. Both Houses voted the Prince an address, soliciting his acceptance of an unrestricted regency of the kingdom of Ireland. The

two Houses waited on the Lord-Lieutenant with this address, and requested him to transmit it. The Viceroy refused; whereupon the House of Commons passed a vote of censure on his Excellency, and sent a deputation of their own to hand it to the Prince, by whom it was graciously received. While the deputation, however, were in London, the King recovered, and the refractory majority soon experienced the effects of their late escapade in a wholesale clearing out of the Government offices. To Ireland and her independence the consequences were more serious, for by this she incurred the deadly hostility of two most formidable enemies—the King and Mr. Pitt. The regency question, coming on the back of the commercial question, decided the minister and his royal master, that the only solution of the difficulty was a legislative union of the two countries.

The general character of Irish legislation and government which subsequently took place may be inferred from what has already been briefly described. Independent Ireland was governed as a province. From the year of independence until the commencement of the French Revolution, the political condition of Ireland grew steadily worse. With the exception of a slight amount of commercial activity, consequent on the liberation of her trade from the shackles of British legislation, Ireland gained very little from the revolution of 1782. From the time of the overthrow of the Volunteers,

every public abuse took deeper root; acts of legislature and administrative oppression were multiplied and aggravated. Every liberal and reasonable motion calculated to benefit the country was unfailingly crushed by placed and pensioned majorities. Not a thing could a Liberal minority do or get done during ten weary years of parliamentary effort. Every popular grievance, civil, political, and ecclesiastical, was industriously aggravated till popular discontent reached rebellion point, and every tumult or disturbance which could with any decency be designated 'rebellion,' was industriously improved into a Police Bill or Whiteboy Act, to give occasion for putting the largest possible quantity of arbitrary power into the worst possible hands. It was the sore disappointment which resulted from baffled attempts to bring about some beneficial change, which eventually led to the rebellion of '98.

Something may be said on the internal state of the country. The Republicans and Reformers joined under the common name of Volunteers without at first perceiving that their designs and objects were identical. The French Revolution filled the Whigs with alarm; they seceded from the Volunteers, some opposed the projects of reform, and in this way broke up the party. The Republican section in Ulster sought a reconciliation with the Catholics of the South, with the view of obtaining equal rights on equal terms with the Catholics. Wolfe Tone, the most active agent in effecting this apparent union,

shows that at the time there was no agreement between the Presbyterians of the North and the Catholics of the South, and to effect a union was one of his great aims. When the Parisian massacres occurred in 1792, moderate Republicans in Ireland feared to accept freedom accompanied with such terms. The Catholic clergy in a body separated from the Reformers, and denounced the atheism of France from their altars; if the Government had then adopted measures of conciliation instead of coercion, the tranquillity of Ireland would have been preserved. Later on, when Earl Fitzwilliam was sent over empowered to conciliate the Catholic interest, he was received with enthusiastic gratitude; but unfortunately the intrigues of party interfered, and the causes of discord which had accumulated for centuries were once more aroused. During this crisis the whole body of the Irish priests were most awkardly situated. The hatred of French infidelity and atheistic republicanism converted them into zealous Royalists, and yet they had the mortification of hearing themselves denounced as apostles of sedition.

When the policy of conciliation was abandoned, the ministry urged forward the coercion laws with railway speed; the Volunteers were disarmed, the garrisons removed from the towns, the sale of arms prohibited, and all conventions of delegates subjected to legal penalties. From this period the Society of United Irishmen became a secret society; its members were removed from popular control, their plans

for the regeneration of their country trammelled; they were precluded from gaining a knowledge of the state of public opinion, and had no means of discovering how far the nation was prepared to support their schemes. Under these circumstances they looked for aid to France, and the failure of Hoche's expedition rendered their cause hopeless.

At the close of the eighteenth century France pursued the same policy towards the Irish insurrection which the courts of Rome and Madrid had pursued at the end of the sixteenth. Its rulers encouraged civil war in Ireland, as a means of distracting the attention of the British Government, and preventing its interference in the political changes which French ambition meditated on the Continent. Holland and the Netherlands were the real objects at which the French Directory aimed when they promised to assist the Republicans of Ulster. Tone had a suspicion of the French alliance; he feared that France might either take the opportunity of making Ireland a province, tributary to France, or restore it to England for some equivalent. Every delay in sending the promised aid increased the fears and suspicions of the United Irishmen; besides, this well-founded alarm afforded plausible excuses for treachery and desertion. Hence, informers were busy among them, revealing their plans to the Government. When these were disclosed, their measures known, their leaders seized, the United Irishmen allowed the rebellion to begin. For a long time the society was lan-

guishing, unable to inspire the people with confidence or enthusiasm ; the rebellion that followed was a disastrous failure, inasmuch as it was ill-concerted and badly directed ; there was division among its leaders, dissension among its followers, and it had neither guidance nor support. It would have died a natural death were it not that the Government forced it into a premature existence by scourging, free quarters, and all kinds of military atrocities. The terrible convulsion which took place was merely an explosion of all the bottled-up passions of centuries of injustice.

We have given the above *résumé* with the view of furnishing the reader with a bird's-eye view of the legislative enactments in Ireland during the eighteenth century. He may not have time to examine the ponderous volumes written on the subject, and is next invited to study the lives of the men who rashly plunged into the rebellion. No attempt is made to palliate their excesses, but a sincere desire is felt to render justice to the motives which prompted them, like Quintus Curtius, to leap into the gulf which yawned before them.

J. BOWLES DALY.

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ROBERT EMMETT

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IRELAND IN '98.

CHAPTER I.

ROBERT EMMETT.

Parentage—Thomas Addis Emmett—Anecdote—Education of Robert Emmett—Expelled from Trinity College—Leaves Ireland—Napoleon Bonaparte—Emmett arrives in Dublin—His leadership—Penal laws—Peace of Amiens—Plan to seize depôts and arsenals—Treachery—Attack on Dublin Castle—Want of discipline—Lord Kilwarden—Flight of Emmett—Sarah Curran—Arrest and imprisonment of Emmett—Anne Devlin—Anecdote—The trial—Lord Norbury—Emmett's defence—Execution—Causes of failure—Secret service money—Spies—Grief of Sarah Curran—Major Sturgeon—Sarah Curran's fate—Moore's lines in memory of her.

Robert Emmett sprang from a family of patriots; his father was an eminent physician in Dublin, his eldest brother distinguished himself at the University, and died at the age of thirty, after making a brilliant start in the legal profession. Thomas Addis, the second brother, graduated in Edinburgh and at the advice of Sir James Mackintosh, relinquished the profession of medicine for that of the law. Being an ardent character and enthusiastic Irishman, he imbibed deeply the resentment and antipathy of the majority of his countrymen against the British rule and connection; and, when the societies of United

Irishmen were revived in the year 1795, Emmett joined the association and soon became a leader. The object of this revolution was an independent government for Ireland. Emmett was arrested with Oliver Bond, Doctor Macneven, and other chiefs of the disaffected party in 1798. The State prisoners were permitted to go to America, after four years' confinement in Fort George, a fortress in the county of Nairn, in Scotland. When Emmett landed in New York he was admitted to the bar at once by special dispensation, and reached the first rank of the profession in a short time by his industry and distinguished ability. Before his death he attained the rank of attorney-general of the State of New York.

The following anecdote vividly exhibits the intrepidity of the man. A malcontent had been convicted of taking the United Irishman's oath. The words were as follows: 'I, A. B., in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an adequate and impartial representation of the Irish nation in Parliament, and, as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the attainment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as lies in my power, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and a union of power among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which every reform in Parliament must be partial, not rational, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the

freedom and happiness of this country.' Emmett, on the motion for arrest of judgment, after exhausting his learning and ingenuity, astonished his hearers with this startling announcement: 'And now, my lords, here in the presence of the legal court, this crowded auditory—in the presence of the Being that witnesses and directs this judicial tribunal—even here, my lords, I, Thomas Addis Emmett, declare —*I take this oath* !' And while the bar, bench, and auditory 'held their breath' he kissed the book. This was an indictable offence for which he suffered four years' imprisonment. It was on his release that he went to America.

Dr. Emmett was an ardent politician, and, according to Mr. Grattan, was ever 'mixing up his pills with his plans,' sometimes much to the perplexity of his patients. His three gifted sons were endued with his principles. The youngest son, Robert, was born in the city of Dublin during the year 1782, a memorable year in the history of Ireland. The Emmetts were Protestant, and Robert at an early age went to school to Mr. Lewes, a clergyman of the Established Church, who, in common with most of his cloth, had no persecuting spirit towards his Catholic fellow-subjects. From this excellent divine the young lad derived the principles and impressions which guided him through life. From the nursery and school he was filled with a detestation of tyranny and of injustice. At sixteen years of age he entered Trinity College. Here he made great progress in classical

and mathematical knowledge. He joined the Historical Society, a well-known debating club, on a par with the Oxford Union, and there expressed sentiments so freely on English influence in Ireland that he came under the suspicions of Lord Chancellor Clare, who afterwards expelled him from college for denouncing the English form of government and advocating that of a republic.

During the rebellion of 1798 Emmett had been so unguarded in his conduct that he found it best to leave Ireland while the *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended. He fled to the Continent, when an active correspondence was set on foot by the French Government. Emmett, together with the leaders of the preceding Irish rebellion, held consultations for the organisation of another revolution ; in this they were aided by no less a person than Napoleon Bonaparte, then emperor of France. Emmett was made the director and mover of the new attempt to liberate Ireland from British dominion.

On the expiration of the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, Emmett returned to Dublin, took private lodgings at Harold's Cross, assumed the name of Hewett, and held meetings with his confederates. The notion of recommencing another attempt to subvert British power in Ireland was hailed with delight, and secret intelligence of this fact soon spread itself through the country. For four months after his arrival, nothing of Emmett's plans transpired. He invested the whole of his small fortune, not ex-

ceeding 2,500*l.*, in this mad scheme. His eloquence, enthusiasm, and single-minded character elevated the fame of the society of which he was leader. Ireland was then ripe for any revolt. The great majority of the people were reduced to the condition of slaves by the severity of the penal laws, for the British Government embraced every severity that could waste the vigour of the nation, provided the sacrifice would promote the self-interest or gratify the rancour of the favoured party in the ascendency.

There was a law which disabled a Catholic from educating or being the guardian of his own child; a law which made disobedience or apostacy of the Catholic child the means of disinheriting his father; a law for robbing a Catholic of his horse on the highway, if, when interrogated, he confessed his faith; a law to banish the Catholic clergy and hang them if they returned; to prevent Catholics from purchasing or inheriting landed estates; from having arms for their defence; to debar them from the profession of the law; to prevent them from holding any office of trust, honour, or emolument; from voting at elections or sitting in Parliament.

Under the above circumstances it was no wonder the people were eager to lay hold of even the maddest scheme which promised a release from this abject condition of slavery in which the country was held. The above statutes to rob, harass, and insult a defenceless people were framed against Christians, under pretence of securing the Protestant religion.

In 1802 the Peace of Amiens was signed between Great Britain on the one hand and France, Spain, and Holland on the other. It was a hollow truce, for there was no confidence on the part of either Government in the sincerity of the intention of the other to maintain it.

England was pressed by public opinion to sue for peace. Bonaparte was consolidating his plans for his own aggrandisement. The destruction of his fleet made it necessary to provide and equip another. Similar naval preparations were going on in England. An Alien Act was passed to empower the British Government to remove foreigners suspected of being dangerous to it.

Emmett's design of liberating his country was then based on the expectation of a rupture of this treaty between Great Britain and France, and on the knowledge that the latter country was making extensive naval preparations; besides, he had the assurance of Talleyrand that those preparations were made with the view of invading England.

Down to 1782, English Acts of Parliament were suffered to bind Ireland. Misgovernment and poverty, the neglect of agriculture, the prohibition of trade, the abandonment of manufactures, were during that period the portion of Ireland. Towards the end of the American war the volunteers emancipated their country from this bondage, and gave it the means of being independent. The demands of the volunteers were prudently conceded, and the Revolution of 1782

was accomplished without bloodshed. The immediate consequence was the liberation of the commerce of Ireland from English restrictions, and her ensuing prosperity. The volunteers, however, could not continue in arms, and Ireland had no representative assembly to foster her prosperity during peace. Her Parliament was composed solely of the dominant faction representing but a small portion of the inhabitants, and having few feelings or wishes in unison with the mass of the people. The volunteers said that no measure of relief could be effectual unaccompanied with a reform in the Parliament. Their mistake, however, was in excluding the Catholics from their plans. This defeated the scheme, for it was impossible to erect an edifice of freedom on a foundation of monopoly. Warned by these errors, the United Irishmen aimed at a fundamental system of reform.

In any country where there is not an impartial administration of justice, insurrection and civil war are the only resources of an exasperated people. But the moment the Protestant reformers in Ireland recognised the principle, that no reform could be practicable and just which did not equally include Irishmen of every denomination, the measure became feasible. Thus defeated, and a legislative union accomplished, this only provoked further dissatisfaction. The pitiable representation of Ireland in a foreign country —a minority of six to one, the six giving the law to the one, and with that one they having nothing in common—has proved a disastrous failure.

It was the opinion of Emmett, that the legislative union was a measure more suited to facilitate the despotism of the ministry than strengthen the dominion of England. He maintained that an Irish Parliament would be a bond of liberal connection ; it would settle every question of domestic policy at home, prevent strife and recrimination between both countries, secure to the affairs of Ireland a degree of attention which, however necessary, they do not and cannot obtain among the weighty concerns of a different people in a foreign legislature. Among those who endeavoured to overthrow misrule in Ireland, exposing its cause and effect, Robert Emmett stands most distinguished. Failing to accomplish a peaceable solution of this difficulty, he was moved to appeal to force as the only remedy.

Different depôts were hired in Dublin at his sole expense, furnished with pikes, ammunition, and clothing.

In one of these depôts gunpowder was manufactured ; in another, wood was prepared for constructing pikes ; and in others stores were deposited. For some time perfect secrecy was observed ; it was only on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the French Revolution, that the Government opened its eyes to the real danger of the situation, an accident in one of the powder depôts having roused their attention. Emmett personally superintended those preparations, having a mattress to sleep on that he might be present night and day to direct and animate the workmen.

Seven days after the explosion in Patrick Street, he commenced operations by concocting a plan to seize the several depôts and arsenals in Dublin as the best means of influencing the public mind. When it came to action, many of his partisans drew back, believing that the right moment had not arrived. They did not accompany their refusal by any discovery of the plot. On the morning of the appointed day, June 23, 1803, the Kildare men were seen directing their steps towards the capital. They had collected round one of the depôts in Thomas Street in unusual crowds, when about five o'clock they were persuaded by their officers to return home. Here treachery began. It is highly probable that its full extent was never known to Emmett, who was of a trusting, sanguine nature, constitutionally opposed to suspecting his fellow-men, and so single-minded that he regarded others with whom he was acting as like himself. The defection of the Wicklow and Wexford followers would have deterred a less ardent spirit than Emmett's from proceeding. He never quailed under the disappointment, though he bitterly felt the pain of their disloyalty. Towards dusk he directed the distribution of pikes to the waiting crowds in Thomas Street, and proceeded to make the necessary arrangements for the contemplated attack. The different leaders received their instructions; the forces were assembled in their respective places. These were to act on the signal of a rocket, which Emmett was to send up when he considered the time had

arrived for the commencement of hostilities; Emmett and two of his followers were to head the attack on the Castle. At eight o'clock they sallied out of the depôt in Thomas Street, and were met by ringing cheers from the insurgents. The consternation excited by their presence was vivid: every avenue was thronged, every window had its inquisitive heads; shopkeepers ran to their doors and beheld with amazement a lawless band of armed insurgents in the midst of a peaceable city, an hour at least before dark. The scene at first might have appeared amusing to a careless spectator, but when a rocket ascended and burst over the heads of the people, the aspect of affairs underwent a wonderful change. The impulse of the moment was self-preservation; those who a few moments before seemed to look on with vacant wonder, now assumed a face of horror and fled with precipitation. The wish to escape was simultaneous, and the eagerness with which the people retreated impeded their own flight, as they crowded upon one another down alleys, courtways and lanes, while the screams of women and children were heartrending. 'To the Castle!' shouted the enthusiastic leader, drawing his sword, while his followers clustered at his heels. On they went, but on reaching the Market-house his adherents visibly diminished. On looking round him, he found hardly fifty to sustain him in his reckless attempt to storm the citadel. Among those who were left, a thirst for outrage and revenge had destroyed all discipline and supplanted patriotism.

He hastened from front to rear, from man to man, in vain endeavours to quell disorder. Their worst passions, inflamed by the whisky with which they had plied themselves, had brutalised them. 'Our cause is lost!' exclaimed Emmett, snatching a rocket which a man was about to send up, and trampling it under his foot; 'let our friends at a distance escape; comrades, provide for your own safety.'

A skirmish now followed with a party of soldiers who came up. During the progress of the insurgents from the depôt, the attention of the rear was diverted by the arrival of an equipage; a moment's inquiry satisfied the mob that it was that of the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland. A halt was called, disorder and tumult prevailed, and the venerable and respected Lord Kilwarden was butchered by some cold-blooded ruffian among the throng. It was at this period that Mr. Emmett and the other leaders, who had been somewhat more than an hour engaged in a task far beyond their powers, retired in despair at finding all command disregarded, all efforts to produce subordination ineffectual. When Emmett and his immediate associates heard of the death of Lord Kilwarden, they came to the resolution of abandoning their unprincipled followers. The number of lives lost on both sides did not exceed eighty. Emmett fled to the mountains of Wicklow; he arrived in time to prevent a contemplated rising of the insurgents, which he foresaw would have been utterly useless in accomplishing his purpose. In a glen in the mountains

Emmett and the other leaders of the conspiracy met to consult on plans of future operation. Most of them recommended vigorous measures, stating that all the country was ripe for revolt. The time, however, was past for Emmett to credit a sweeping assertion. 'We have been defeated in our first grand attempt: all further endeavours must be futile. Our enemies are armed and disciplined; our friends are dispirited; our only hope now is in patience. The justice of our cause must one day triumph; let us not indiscreetly protract the period by any premature endeavours to accelerate it. In revolts the first blow decides the contest. We have aimed one, and, missing the mark, let us retire unobserved. Let me therefore, my friends, advise you to act with prudence, which becomes men engaged in the grandest of all causes—the liberation of their country. But, above all, never forget that you are United Irishmen, sworn to promote the liberty of your country by all the means in your power. Gentlemen, you will now look to your safety, and, as for me, I shall do the best I can to quit the country, in the hope of again meeting you under more happy auspices.'

He spoke in a subdued and feeling tone, and as he bade them all farewell he appeared deeply affected. After some hesitation his advice was acquiesced in, and the assembly began to separate, two and three at a time. Emmett was now pressed to make his escape before the Government obtained information respecting his place of concealment: an opportunity

then offered of his doing so, as several fishing-smacks lay off the coast, the owners of which were insurgents. There is no doubt he could have escaped the vigilance of the officers of the law but for his determination to have an interview with his sweetheart, Sarah Curran, the youngest daughter of the great advocate. The young patriot could not leave his native country without bidding a last adieu to her he so dearly loved.

The chivalrous Emmett departed from the mountains on his mission of love, and arrived once more in Dublin without molestation. Locating himself in his old lodgings at Harold's Cross, he wrote several letters in order to bring about the desired interview with Miss Curran. Here he remained a month in concealment, without being able to accomplish his desire, when one day the house was surrounded by police, headed by the notorious Major Sirr. They discovered poor Emmett in the act of sitting down to dinner. After a brave personal resistance, he was overcome by numbers. Upon searching his person and the apartments occupied by him, a variety of documents were discovered, subsequently produced in evidence against him upon his trial. On the evening of August 25, 1803, he was removed, still guarded by a strong escort, to the city prison, and there thrust into a dungeon. What his feelings were during this period can be best gleaned from a paper found on him. 'I have little time,' he wrote, 'to look at the thousand difficulties which lie between

me and the completion of my wishes; that those difficulties will likewise disappear I have ardent, and I trust rational, hopes; but, if it is not the case, I thank God for having gifted me with a sanguine disposition; to that disposition I run from reflection, and if my hopes are without foundation—if a precipice is opened under my feet, from which duty will not suffer me to run back—I am grateful for that sanguine disposition which leads me to the brink and throws me down, while my eyes are raised to the vision of happiness that my fancy formed in the air.' It is not known who gave the information which led to Emmett's arrest, but the conduct of a peasant girl who took part in the proceedings deserves record.

Anne Devlin, a young woman about twenty-five years of age, was sent by her father to assist in taking care of one of the depôts, and to act as servant to Emmett. On the disastrous day of the rising, when the leader and his companions returned after the abortive attack, Anne saw them outside the house in the yard; she was at the moment sending off a man on horseback with ammunition in a sack, and bottles filled with gunpowder. Anne called out, 'Who is there?' Robert Emmett answered, 'It is me, Anne!' She said, 'Oh, bad welcome to you! Is the world lost by you, you cowards, that you are to lead the people to destruction, and then leave them?' Robert Emmett said, 'The fault is not mine.' When Emmett fled to the mountains, Anne Devlin was the person who carried his letters there.

He afterwards sent her with some to Miss Curran. When the soldiers and police ransacked Emmett's lodgings, Anne was seized and questioned, but no information could be extracted from this brave girl. She was threatened with death, and dragged into the courtyard to be executed. There was a common car there; one of the yeomen tilted up the shafts, and fixed a rope from the back band. While these preparations were making for her execution, the soldiers kept her standing against the wall, prodding her with their bayonets in the arms and shoulders till she was all covered with blood, and saying, with each thrust of the bayonet, 'Will you confess now?' Her constant answer was, 'I will tell nothing.' The rope was at length put about her neck; she was dragged to the place where the car was converted into a gallows; they placed her under it, and the end of the rope was passed over the back band. The question was put to her the last time, 'Will you confess?' Her answer was, 'You may murder me, you villains, but not a word about him will you get out of me.' The rope was then pulled, and in an instant she was suspended by the neck. After she had been thus suspended for a few minutes, her feet touching the ground, a savage yell of laughter recalled her to her senses. The rope round her neck was loosened, and her life spared; she was let off with half-hanging. After this she was flung in prison, where she remained till after the execution of Emmett The extraordinary sufferings endured, and the courage and fidelity dis-

played by this young woman, have few parallels. She was tortured, her body pricked with bayonets, she was hung by the neck, and only spared to be subjected to threats of further privations and solitary confinement, till her health broke down and her mind became shattered; then she was turned adrift on the world without a house to return to or a relation to shelter her; and yet this noble creature preserved through all her suffering a devoted attachment to the cause of her country, and to the misguided youth who flung himself into the cause, which the petty tyrants of the Castle and the jail could not vanquish. In the records of that period the name of Anne Devlin must not be forgotten.

Emmett was cast into prison, loaded with iron fetters which cut through the silk stockings he wore, bathing his feet in blood. The inhuman conduct of the jailor towards the State prisoners afterwards became the subject of parliamentary investigation.

The Government, with bloodthirsty precipitance, appointed a special commission to try Emmett and nineteen other prisoners, sixteen days after the arrest. The commission was presided over by Lord Norbury. The jury, without leaving the box, pronounced a verdict of 'Guilty!'

The trial commenced at ten o'clock in the morning and terminated at ten at night. Emmett was dressed in black; he wore a black velvet stock and Hessian boots; his attitude was calm and self-possessed. In reply to the usual question why judg-

ment and sentence of death should not be passed on him, he made the following reply, amidst frequent interruptions. It is but justice to say that Lord Norbury's speech, while charging the jury, was free from rancour :

' My lords, as to why judgment of death and execution should not be passed upon me according to law, I have nothing to say ; but as to why my character should not be relieved from the imputations and calumnies thrown out against it, I have much to say. I do not imagine that your lordships will give credit to what I am going to utter. I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of the court. I only wish your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories until it has found some more hospitable harbour to shelter it from the storms with which it is at present buffeted. Was I to suffer only death, after being adjudged guilty, I should bow in silence to the fate that awaits me ; but the sentence of the law which delivers over my body to the executioner consigns my character to obloquy. A man in my situation has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune but also the difficulties of prejudice. Whilst the man dies, his memory lives, and that mine may not forfeit all claim to the respect of my countrymen, I seize this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me. I am charged with being an emissary of France. It is false, I am no

emissary. I did not wish to deliver up my country to a foreign power, and least of all to France. Nor did I entertain the remotest idea of establishing French power in Ireland. From the introductory paragraph of the address of the Provisional Government it is evident that every hazard attending an independent effort was deemed preferable to the more fatal risk of introducing a French army into this country. Small, indeed, would be our claim to patriotism and to sense, and palpable our affectation of the love of liberty, if we were to sell our country to a people who are not only slaves themselves, but the unprincipled and abandoned instruments of imposing slavery on others. And, my lords, let me here observe that I am not the head and life-blood of this rebellion. When I came to Ireland I found the business ripe for execution. I was asked to join it. I took time to consider; and after mature deliberation I became one of the Provisional Government; and there was then, my lords, an agent from the United Irishmen and Provisional Government of Ireland in Paris negotiating with the French Government to obtain from them an aid sufficient to accomplish the separation of Ireland from Great Britain, the preliminary to which assistance has been a guarantee to Ireland similar to that which Franklin obtained for America; but the intimation that I or the rest of the Provisional Government meditated to put our country under the dominion of a power which has been the enemy of freedom in every part of the globe, is

utterly false and unfounded. Did we entertain any such ideas, how could we speak of giving freedom to our countrymen ? How could we assume such an exalted motive ? If such an inference is drawn from any part of the proclamation of the Provisional Government, it calumniates their views and is not warranted by the fact.

'Connection with France was, indeed, intended, but only as far as mutual interest would sanction or require. Were they to assume any authority inconsistent with the purest independence, it would be the signal for their destruction. We sought aid, and we sought it—as we had assurance we should obtain it—as auxiliaries in war, and allies in peace.

'Were the French to come as invaders or enemies, uninvited by the wishes of the people, I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength. Yes, my countrymen ! I should advise you to meet them upon the beach, with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other. I would meet them with all the destructive fury of war. I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their boats before they had contaminated the soil of my country. If they succeeded in landing, and if forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the last entrenchment of liberty should be my grave.

'What I could not do myself, if I should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish, because I should feel conscious that life,

any more than death, is unprofitable when a foreign nation holds my country in subjection.

'Reviewing the conduct of France to other countries, could we expect better towards us? No; let not then any man attaint my memory by believing that I could have hoped to give freedom to my country by betraying the sacred cause of liberty, and committing it to the power of her most determined foe. Had I done so, I had not deserved to live; and, dying with such a weight upon my character, I had merited the honest execration of that country which gave me birth, and to which I would give freedom. What has been the conduct of the French towards other countries? They promised them liberty, and when they got them in their power they enslaved them. What has been their conduct towards Switzerland, where it has been stated that I had been? Had the people there been desirous of French assistance, I would have sided with the people, I would have stood between them and the French, whose aid they called in, and, to the utmost of my ability, I would have protected them from every attempt at subjugation; I would, in such case, have fought against the French, and, in the dignity of freedom, I would have expired on the threshold of that country, and they should have entered it only passing over my lifeless corse. Is it then to be supposed that I would be slow in making the same sacrifices for my native land? Am I, who lived but to be of service to my country, and who would subject myself to the bond-

age of the grave to give her freedom and independence, am I to be loaded with the foul and grievous calumny of being an emissary of French tyranny and French despotism? My lords, it may be a part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to meet the ignominy of the scaffold, but worse to me than the scaffold's shame, or the scaffold's terrors, would be the imputation of having been an agent of the despotism and ambition of France; and whilst I have breath, I will call upon my countrymen not to believe me guilty of so foul a crime against their liberties and against their happiness. I would do with the people of Ireland as I would have done with the people of Switzerland, could I be called upon at any future period of time so to do. My object, and that of the rest of the Provisional Government, was to effect a total separation between Great Britain and Ireland, to make Ireland totally independent of Great Britain, but not to let her become a dependent of France.

'When my spirit shall have joined those bands of martyred heroes who have shed their blood on the scaffold, and in the field, in defence of their country, this is my hope, that my memory and name may serve to animate those who survive me.

'While the destruction of that government which upholds its dominion by impiety against the Most High, which displays its power over man as over the beasts of the field, which sets man upon his brother and lifts his hands in religion's name against the

throat of his fellow, who believes a little more or less than the government standard, which reigns amidst the cries of the orphans and of the widows it has made——'

Here Lord Norbury interrupted.

'What I have spoken was not intended for your lordships, whose situation I commiserate rather than envy; my expressions were for my countrymen. If there be a true Irishman present, let my last words cheer him in the hour of affliction.

'I have always understood it to be the duty of a judge, when a prisoner has been convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law. I have also understood that judges sometimes think it their duty to hear with patience and to speak with humanity; to exhort the victims of the laws, and to offer with tender benignity their opinions of the motives by which the accused was actuated in the crime of which he was adjudged guilty. That a judge has thought it his duty so to have done I have no doubt; but where is the boasted freedom of your institutions—where is the vaunted impartiality, clemency, and mildness of your courts of justice, if an unfortunate prisoner, whom your policy and not justice is about to deliver into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to explain his motives, sincerely and truly, and to vindicate the principles by which he was actuated?

'My lords, it may be a part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to the purposed ignominy of the scaffold; but worse to

me than the purposed shame or the scaffold's terrors would be the tame endurance of such foul and unfounded imputations as have been laid against me in this court. You, my lord, are a judge. I am the supposed culprit. I am a man—you are a man also. By a revolution of power we might change places, though we never could change characters. If I stand at the bar of this court and dare not vindicate my character, what a farce is your justice! If I stand at this bar and dare not vindicate my character, how dare you calumniate it? Does the sentence of death, which your unhallowed policy inflicts on my body, condemn my tongue to silence and my reputation to reproach? Your executioner may abridge the period of my existence, but while I exist I shall not forbear to vindicate my character and motives from your aspersions; and, as a man to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life in doing justice to that reputation which is to live after me, and which is the only legacy I can leave those I honour and love, and for whom I am proud to perish. As men, my lord, we must appear on the great day at one common tribunal; and it will then remain for the Searcher of all hearts to show a collective universe who was engaged in the most virtuous actions, or actuated by the purest motives—my country's oppressors or——'

Here he was told to listen to the law.

'My lords, will a dying man be denied the legal privilege of exculpating himself in the eyes of the

community from a reproach thrown upon him during his trial, by charging him with ambition, and attempting to cast away, for a paltry consideration, the liberties of his country? Why, then, insult me, or rather why insult justice, in demanding of me why sentence of death should not be pronounced against me? I know, my lords, that the form prescribes that you should put the question, the form also confers a right of answering. This no doubt may be dispensed with, and so might the whole ceremony of the trial, since sentence was already pronounced at the Castle before your jury were impanelled. Your lordships are but the priests of the oracle, and I submit, but I insist on the whole of the forms.'

Here Emmett paused, and the court desired him to proceed.

'I have been charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my country, as to be considered the keystone of the combination of Irishmen, or, as it has been expressed, "the life and blood of this conspiracy."

'You do honour me overmuch; you have given to the subaltern all the credit of the superior. There are men concerned in this conspiracy who are not only superior to me, but even to your own conception of yourself, my lord; men before the splendour of whose genius and virtues I should bow with respectful deference, and who would not deign to call you friend—who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood-stained hand.'

Lord Norbury interrupted.

'What, my lord, shall you tell me—on my passage to the scaffold that that tyranny of which you are only the intermediate minister has erected for my death—that I am accountable for all the blood that has and will be shed in this struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor? Shall you tell me this—and must I be so very a slave as not to repel it?

'I do not fear to approach the Omnipotent Judge to answer for the conduct of my short life; and am I to stand appalled here before a mere remnant of mortality? Let no man dare, when I am dead, to charge me with dishonour—let no man attaint my memory by believing that I could have engaged in any cause but of my country's liberty and independence. The proclamation of the Provisional Government speaks my views—no inference can be tortured from it to countenance barbarity or debasement; I would not have submitted to a foreign oppression, for the same reason that I would have resisted tyranny at home.'

Lord Norbury: 'Mr. Emmett, you have been called upon to show cause, if any you have, why the judgment of the land should not be enforced against you. Instead of showing anything in point of law, you have proceeded in a manner the most unbecoming a person in your station; you have avoided and endeavoured to vindicate principles totally subversive of the government, totally subversive of the tranquillity, well-being, and happiness of that country

which gave you birth, and you have broached treason the most abominable.

'You, sir, had the honour to be a gentleman by birth, and your father filled a respectable situation under the Government. You had an eldest brother whom death snatched away, and who when living was one of the greatest ornaments of the bar. The law of his country was the study of his youth; and the study of his mature life was to cultivate and support them. He left you a proud example to follow; and, if he had lived, he would have given your talents the same virtuous direction as his own, and have taught you to admire and preserve that constitution, for the destruction of which you have conspired with the most profligate and abandoned, and associated with hostlers, bakers, butchers, and such persons whom you invited to council when you erected your Provisional Government.'

'If the spirits,' said Emmett, 'of the illustrious dead participate in the concerns of those who were dear to them in this transitory scene, dear shade of my venerated father, look down on your suffering son, and see, has he for a moment deviated from those moral and patriotic principles which you so early instilled into his youthful mind, and for which he has now to offer up his life?

'My lord, you are impatient for the sacrifice. The blood which you seek is not congealed by the artificial terrors which surround your victim—it circulates warmly and unruffled through its channels,

and in a little time it will cry to heaven. Be ye yet patient! I have but a few more words to say: I am going to my cold and silent grave—my lamp of life is nearly extinguished—I have parted with everything that is dear to me in this life, and for my country's cause, with the idol of my soul, the object of my affections. My race is run, the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world —it is *the charity of silence.* Let no man write my epitaph; for as no man who knows my motives dare now vindicate them, let no prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them rest in obscurity and peace, my memory be left in oblivion, and my tomb remain uninscribed until other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I have done.'

Emmett pronounced this speech in a clear ringing voice that penetrated every corner of the court, and with a grace of manner which profoundly impressed those assembled. After the address Lord Norbury pronounced the death sentence, ordering the prisoner to be executed the following day. Emmett's trial commenced on the morning of September 18, 1803, and terminated the same evening at ten o'clock; a few hours were all that were given to him to prepare for eternity. Tuesday was the day fixed for execution; he had prayed of the Attorney-General, through

his counsel, not to be brought up for judgment till Wednesday. This application was refused ; the ministers of justice were impatient for the sacrifice. Emmett was removed at ten o'clock at night to Newgate ; there he was loaded with irons, and thrown into one of the condemned cells, heavily fettered. It was here that he heard of the death of his mother, which occurred the night before. Poor Mrs. Emmett was crushed with the intelligence of her son's fate. The news of his condemnation proved too much for her ; like Sheare's mother, she was hurried to the grave by the calamity which had befallen her youngest son. Only one year before she had lost her husband ; it was a mercy she was taken away from her great misery.

The scaffold on which the young martyr suffered was a mere temporary arrangement, consisting of a few boards laid across a number of empty barrels, that were placed for this purpose nearly in the middle of the street. Through this platform rose two posts, fifteen feet high, and a traverse beam was placed across them. Underneath the beam, about three feet from the platform, was a single narrow plank supported on two ledges, on which the prisoner was to stand at the moment of being launched into eternity. The platform was about six feet from the ground, and was ascended by a ladder.

When Emmett alighted from the carriage, and was led to the foot of the scaffold, his arms being tied, he was assisted to ascend by the executioner,

but he mounted quickly and with apparent alacrity. He addressed a few words to the crowd in a firm, sonorous voice, avoiding any reference to political matters, or to the events with which his fate was connected. He merely said: 'My friends, I die in peace, and with sentiments of universal love and kindness towards all men.' He then shook hands with some friends who were near, presented his watch to the executioner, and removed his stock. The immediate preparations for execution were then carried into effect; he assisted in adjusting the rope round his neck, and was then placed on the plank underneath the beam, with the cap drawn over his face; but he contrived to raise his hand and partly remove the cap, and spoke a few words in a low tone to the executioner. The cap was replaced, and he stood with a handkerchief in his hand, the fall of which was to be the signal for the last act of the finisher of the law. After standing on the plank for a few seconds, the executioner asked, 'Are you ready, sir?' One of his friends who stood close by distinctly heard Robert Emmett say in reply, 'Not yet.' There was another momentary pause—no signal was given; again the executioner repeated the question, and the reply 'Not yet,' was given. The question was put a third time, and the same gentleman who gave the report, heard Emmett pronounce the word 'Not——'; but before he had time to utter another word, the executioner tilted one end of the plank off the ledge, and a human being,

full of genius, patriotism, and truth, was dangling like a dog, writhing in the agonies of the most revolting and degrading of all deaths. God's noblest work was used as if His image was not in it, or as if its disfigurement was a matter of slight moment, scarce worth a passing thought on the part of those 'dressed in a little brief authority.'

After hanging for a moment motionless, life terminated with one convulsive movement of the body. At the expiration of the usual time the remains were taken down, and extended on the scaffold. The head was struck from the body, grasped by the hair, and paraded along the front of the gallows by the hangman, proclaiming to the multitude, 'This is the head of a traitor!' Near the scaffold, where the blood had fallen on the pavement from between the planks of the platform, some dogs collected, lapping up the blood; more than one spectator loitered about, and, when the soldiers drove the dogs away, dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood of one of the truest and noblest sons of Ireland, who freely but rashly gave his life for his country. His body was laid in Mitcham churchyard, and soon after a very large stone, without any writing on it, was placed over the grave.

Robert Emmett died in the twenty-fifth year of his age. In stature he was about five feet eight inches; slight in person, active, and capable of enduring great fatigue. His features were regular; his eyes small, bright, and full of expression; his nose sharp,

thin, and straight; his complexion sallow. There was nothing remarkable in his appearance except when excited in conversation; and when he spoke in public on any subject that deeply interested him, his countenance beamed with animation, he no longer seemed the same person, every feature became expressive of his emotions—his gesture, his action, everything about him seemed subservient to the impulses of his feelings, and harmonised with the emanations of his brilliant intellect.

The question of the legal guilt of engaging under any circumstances or with any motive, however pure, in such an enterprise as that of 1803 it is needless to descant upon. The question of the moral guilt of embarking on such an enterprise as an appeal to the sword is one which the defenders of the Revolution of 1688 treat as a problem, the solution of which depends on the consideration of the probability and ultimate advantage of success, the sufficiency of the means, the extent of the popular support, and the amount of suffering occasioned by the struggle. Whenever rebellion has been unsuccessful a *prima facie* case of moral guilt is established. Had Washington failed it would never have been conceded that he was justified in resisting oppression. The chance, however, of success or failure does not determine the question of moral guilt or justification. In Emmett's case it is evident that he was the victim of deception, that he was deluded, misled, and sacrificed by designing men, with whose machinations his youth, inexperience, and

confiding nature were unfit to cope. Meshed in the toils of villainy, what possibility of success was there for his plans, had they been carried into execution in the capital? Had the representations made to him of extensive co-operation been realised, were these plans of his adequate to the accomplishment of his object? Could that object be attained without the shedding of much blood, had his plans been carried into successful operation in the capital, the probability is that Kildare, Wicklow, Wexford, Carlow, and Kilkenny would have immediately risen, and that in one week from the outbreak six counties at least would have been in rebellion. His plans necessarily depended for success on the realisation of the assurances he received of co-operation in the provinces. They were adequate to the proposed object, provided treachery was not stalking behind each attempt to put them in operation. The men of '98 were four years organising the country; the more they organised the more they were betrayed. Emmett traced the failure in '98 to this system of widespread and long-pursued organisation. He left the people alone, he counted on them whenever they were wanted; all his organisation was of his plans in the capital, and all his preparations consisted in providing weapons, ammunition, and warlike contrivances for his adherents. Four months were spent in the preparations of the men of 1803; four years were spent in those of the men of '98. The latter counted half a million of enrolled members, the former counted on the rising of

nineteen counties whenever they should be called on. There was no swearing in of the members in 1803, consequently no professed traitors. Lord Edward Fitzgerald expected 300,000 would take the field. Robert Emmett expected the great body of the people would be with him if once his plans in Dublin were successful; they failed, and he found himself at the head of eighty followers on the 23rd of July, when he sallied forth to attack the Castle. Drunkenness, disorder, treachery, and plunder destroyed his chance of success. What would have been the result if his attempt had been made under different circumstances? A result attended with more real peril to the Government than anything that had environed it in the course of the former rebellion.

In European countries, where revolutions have taken place without much effusion of blood, they have invariably been commenced in the capital. When attempts to revolt have been begun in the provinces, the shedding of blood has generally been in a ratio with the distance from the capital. One of the chief reasons for Emmett's determination to strike the first blow in the capital, and to paralyse the action of the Government at its source, was to avoid as much as possible the effusion of blood. His conduct after the failure of his plans in Dublin is a proof that the disposition of his mind led to this determination. When Lord Kilwarden's murder was made known to him, he felt like Harvey at the sight of the smouldering ashes of the barn of Scullabogue

when he said, 'Our hopes of liberty are now at an end.' He was pressed to make the signal of the second and third rocket for the advance of the men in reserve. He refused to do so; there was no hope of success, and he would not be the means of unnecessary blood-shedding. He was deceived from the beginning and deserted at the end by many who made large promises of support when there was a mere possibility, but not a reasonable expectation, of success, and who were found wanting when danger and the doubtfulness of the issue presented themselves to their view.

There is another matter of consideration connected with this enterprise, worthy of observation. The authorities of the day were not ignorant of the preparations that were making in Dublin for the insurrection of 1803. The full extent of them they probably did not know at the commencement, but the general objects and the principal parties engaged in them were known to Lord Hardwicke. The Lord-Lieutenant had an allowance of 60,000*l.* a year for secret service money in order to enable him to procure information of any conspiracy that might be carried on. The parliamentary record of the despatches between the Government and the general can leave little doubt on that subject. In 1803 Mr. Windham maintained the monstrous doctrine that rebellion was to be fostered till it came to a head, that the cure might be radical.

This might be good policy for a general against

an open enemy, but it was infamous in a government against rebels. The habit then was to foment conspiracy, to give excuse for extreme severity when the moment for suppression arrived. This was how poor Emmett met his fate, ministered to by spies baiting on to treason, till they brought their victim to the dust. So the plot of great reason and small difficulty came to a short end.

When Emmett was sent to prison he took aside the jailor and gave him a letter for Miss Curran and all the money he had about him, and begged that he would deliver it safe. The man, in the discharge of his duty, gave the letter to the Attorney-General. Emmett found this out, and immediately sent to the Government to say that he had imprudently written such a letter; that it had come to their hands; he had thus injured an innocent woman, and, knowing how much the Government were afraid of his addressing the people at his execution, he begged of them to have the letter delivered, and if they refused he would not fail to address the people, and would do so with greater determination; but if they sent the letter he would agree to appear in court, plead guilty, and go to execution without saying a word. This request was denied.

During the whole period of his last residence in Dublin, after his return from the Continent, an active correspondence was carried on between him and Miss Curran. This correspondence fell into the hands of Major Sirr at the time of Emmett's arrest. They re-

mained long in his possession, classed with rebellious papers, and were afterwards burnt by Major Sirr some years before his death. The truculent major in destroying those papers has not destroyed the memory of Robert Emmett, or diminished the mournful interest that is felt in everything that relates to Sarah Curran.

Anne Devlin was the bearer of several letters between the lovers. Of Miss Curran she says : 'Her face used to change so when she received one of those notes, one would hardly know her. You could not see Miss Curran without liking her ; and yet she was not handsome.' She is described as not tall, very slight, dark complexion, with eyes large and black, and 'her look was the mildest, the softest, and sweetest ever seen.' Her attachment to Emmett nearly compromised her father. When it is remembered how obnoxious Curran had rendered himself to the Government, while a member of the House of Commons, as well as by the part he took in defending the rebels in the various State trials from 1794 to the end of 1798, his vexation can be imagined at an occurrence which left him at the mercy of the Government, rendering it necessary for him to appear at once before the Privy Council in the character, no longer of an intrepid advocate for others, but of a suspected person, who had to enter into explanations of his own conduct. This circumstance added to Miss Curran's unhappiness, and eventually led to her leaving home. The lovers had no final interview. But the

morning of his execution there was a coach stationed at a short distance from the jail, and in it a lady with her face closely veiled. When the prisoner left the jail, and the carriage in which he was placed approached the spot where the other vehicle was drawn up, Robert Emmett put his head out of the window, gazed intently at the person who was in it, and waved his hand several times till he was out of sight.

At the moment Emmett passed, the lady referred to removed her veil, stood up in the carriage, waved her handkerchief, and sank back on the seat. The lady was said to be Sarah Curran. At dusk of evening she frequently visited the grave of her lover. Soon after this she left her father's house ; her wretchedness found no alleviation there, and the very constraint imposed on her feelings was productive of additional misery. She visited a Quaker gentleman in Cork, who found it necessary to leave Ireland during the troubles of '98. Here she was treated with the utmost kindness and delicacy. It was while on a visit with Mr. Penrose she became acquainted with Major Sturgeon, her future husband. After some time this poor, friendless, homeless girl, dependent on the kindness of almost strangers, endured the attention of this refined gentleman, who heard her story, was touched with her fidelity and devotion towards her dead lover, and finally resolved to make her his wife. She accepted frankly, confessing that she had no heart to give. Major Sturgeon's

proposal embraced the project of a residence in a southern climate. Any project that afforded an opportunity of leaving Ireland had a recommendation. Robert Emmett's memory was not forgotten; its claim on her heart was recognised and acknowledged by the friend and protector who has assumed a husband's title, to prove the generosity and benevolence of his nature, in his care and protection of one who was worthy of so much pity as well as admiration. Her husband's regiment was ordered to Malta, but her health became every day worse. Two years after her marriage she died of a broken heart in Sicily, where her husband had taken her for a change. Her remains were afterwards brought to Ireland, and buried at Newmarket, the burial-place of her father's family. The circumstance of her residence in a southern climate, and her melancholy state of health and spirits, is made the subject of a few lines of Moore's, which for their exquisite beauty and tender pathos cannot be surpassed:

MISS CURRAN.

She is far from the land where her young hero sleeps,
And lovers around her are sighing;
But coldly she turns from their gaze and weeps,
For her heart in his grave is lying.

She sings the wild song of her dear native land,
Every note which he loved awaking—
Ah! little they think who delight in her strain
How the heart of the minstrel is breaking!

He had lived for his love, for his country he died :
They were all that to life had entwined him—
Nor soon shall the tears of his country be dried,
Nor long will his love stay behind him.

Oh ! make her a grave where the sunbeams rest,
When they promise a glorious morrow ;
They'll shine o'er her sleep, like a smile from the West,
From her own lov'd island of sorrow.

The reader who takes an interest in the fate of Sarah Curran may like to hear something of the chivalrous gentleman who, touched with her story, consented to provide for her wants by giving her his name and the hospitality of his roof. He was a gentleman of independent means and high culture. His mother was a daughter of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. His military career was most distinguished. He served in Egypt, and found a soldier's grave before the heights of Badajoz. In the Duke of Wellington's despatches, Major Sturgeon, of the Royal Staff Corps, is particularly noticed for distinguished action on the field.

CHAPTER II.

SECRET SOCIETIES.[1]

Whiteboys — Religious persecution — Nicholas Sheehy — Accusations against him—His fate—Oakboys—Hearts-of-steel-boys—Religious war — Peep-of-day-boys — Orangemen — Their excesses — First Orange lodge — Address of Lord Gosford — Orange toast—Conspiracies of Orangemen — Joseph Hume — Puritan resolutions—Outrages committed by Orangemen—Lord Castlereagh—Contagion of American and French revolutions — Use of torture — Mr. Beresford's 'Mangling' establishment—'Beresford's bloodhounds'—His failure and ruin—Colonel Luttrell—Junius, on his degradation—Lady Elizabeth Luttrell Her degradation and fate—Barbarities of Hepenstall—'The Walking Gallows'—Lord Norbury—Anecdotes—Absentee bishops—Pension list—The Duke of Rutland—Anecdote.

THE various outbreaks of popular discontent which took place between 1760 and 1790, and obtained the name of insurrections and popish rebellions, can only be regarded as agrarian outrages, the result of oppressive measures taken for the collection of exorbitant rents, the exaction of tithes, and the conversion of the small holdings of the peasantry into pastures. The destitution attendant on those measures drove the persons thus beggared and deprived of house and

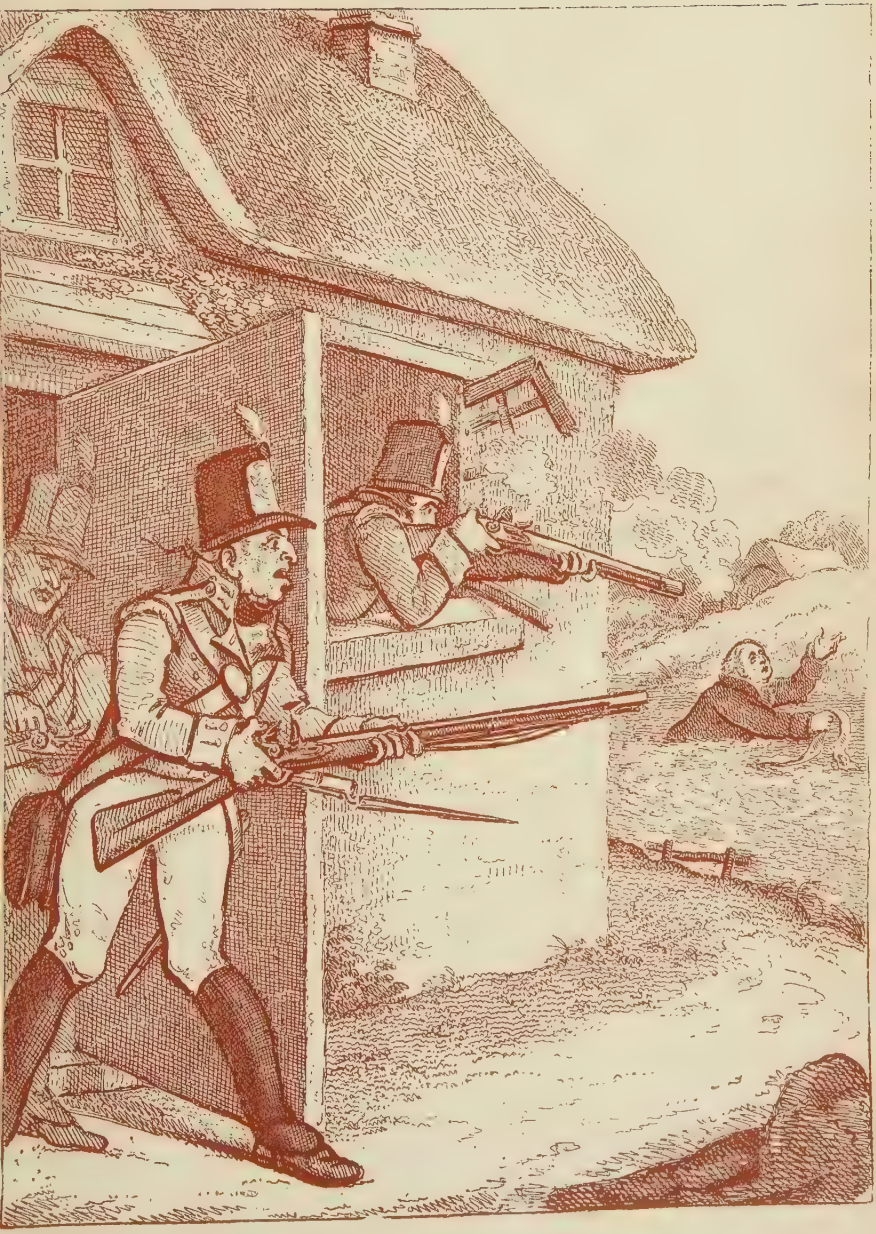
[1] This chapter is an addition calculated to throw light on the period not included in Dr. Madden's writing, but based on information derived from a variety of sources.—ED.

home to those acts of violence which usually follow in the footsteps of distress. In the absence of manufacturing industry, the great majority of the people were wholly dependent on the soil. In Ireland there was no poor law ; the great landlords were absentees, the practice of sub-letting the land had reduced the immediate cultivators to such abject poverty that the people were soon brought face to face with starvation. The local magistracy consisted exclusively of Protestant landlords, who were the omnipotent rulers of the country.

It is not surprising that such a condition should at length produce an insurrection of despair. It was then that one broke out, extending over the counties of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Tipperary, the members of which were known as Whiteboys, a name given them from the circumstance that in action they wore white shirts over their dress. This body of insurgents aimed at redressing the wrongs of their country by intimidating landlords and tithe proctors, and the supineness of the local magistrates in the discharge of their duties enabled the organisation to spread and plant its roots deep in the country. The movement was frequently checked in its operation, but broke out more fiercely, and continued with partial interruptions till 1785, when it spread through Munster. Every season of distress intensified its character, it went on assuming many names, and aiming at many different objects, and it cannot be said to be extinct at the present day. The Whiteboys boldly announced

that they wished to do justice to the poor by restoring the ancient commons filched from the people, regulating the whole relation of landlord and tenant, and enforcing a new system of law wholly different from the law of the land. They issued proclamations forbidding any man under terrible penalties to pay higher rates of tithes than they specified. They seized arms, and compelled all whom they suspected of connivance with the Government, to abandon their farms, and avenged by fearful crimes every infringement of their code. For a time it almost paralysed the law, while the panic which it inspired spread far and wide. Every crime that took place was attributed to the Whiteboy organisation, and though the deeds they executed were many and grievous, they were greatly and often systematically exaggerated with the view of rousing the Government to institute repressive measures. There was no general attack on the landlords or on the clergy of the Established Church except particular offenders ; most of the outbreaks were agrarian ; in others they were directed against tithes. A strong attempt was made to attribute this outbreak to political and religious causes ; it was stated that French money was found in the pockets of arrested Whiteboys, and that the whole movement was a popish insurrection directed against Protestants, and as such fostered by the French, with whom we were at war. Fear and religious hatred combined to make men believe any story which gave a colour to the theory that a massacre of the

Protestants was intended. This, however, was a wilful perversion of facts, for the Whiteboy disturbance did not take place till the year 1761, more than a year after the expedition headed by Thurot. The Government in Ireland, however, with praiseworthy honesty discouraged the rumours which represented the outrages as distinctly popish. Many of the Catholic bishops used all their spiritual censures for the purpose of repressing Whiteboyism, and some received the thanks of the Lord-Lieutenant for their strenuous support. Lord Chesterfield, never very partial to Ireland, stated that the people were used 'worse than the negroes by their lords and masters, their deputies of deputies of deputies,' and ascribed Whiteboyism to the sentiment in every human heart 'that asserts man's natural right to liberty and good usage, and that will and ought to rebel when oppressed and provoked.' Even Fitzgibbon, the most degenerate Irishman of his day, frankly asserted: 'I am well acquainted with the province of Munster, and I know that it is impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable peasantry of that province. I know that the unhappy tenantry are ground to powder by relentless landlords. It is impossible for them any longer to exist in the extreme wretchedness under which they labour. A poor man is obliged to pay 6*l.* for an acre of potatoes, which 6*l.* he is obliged to work out with his landlord at 5*d.* a day.' It was asserted that the Whiteboy disturbance was a kind of religious war, and an



LIMBERLIP, THE PRIEST KILLER. *To face p. 44.*

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attempt was made to make it another occasion for religious prosecution. A charge of disaffection was made against an Irish Roman Catholic priest, exciting much interest at the time, and the memory of which is not yet forgotten. Nicholas Sheehy, parish priest of Cloheen, in the county of Tipperary, was a man of respectable parentage, and related to several of the Catholic gentry of the district. He was a bold and fearless advocate of justice and humanity, gifted with a generous disposition, and animated with a strong hatred of oppression. The qualities which rendered him obnoxious to the enemies of a poor persecuted people left him naked and open to their enmity. He was courageous and confiding, chivalrous in his defence of the poor and the oppressed, but incautiously prominent in vindicating their cause. The first disturbance in his neighbourhood was connected with their resistance of a new claim on the Roman Catholic people in his district of five shillings for every marriage celebrated by a priest. There can be no doubt that Father Sheehy encouraged the people in resisting this unjust charge; he also took part in their discussions; collected money for the defence of the rioters, who were his parishioners, and the acquittal of any of them was attributed to his interference. Sheehy had by this made himself in the highest degree obnoxious to the Protestant gentry of the neighbourhood, who had him arrested; he was, however, released through want of evidence, and found it necessary to leave his parish for some time. This

absence was construed as a ground of fresh offence, and a reward of 300*l.* was offered by the Government for his apprehension.

When Sheehy heard of the proclamation, he wrote from his concealment, offering to surrender, if his trial would not be conducted in Clonmel, where he feared the malice of his enemies was stronger than their love of justice. The offer was accepted. He was charged with inciting to rebellion and riot; the only witnesses against him were some persons of abandoned character. After fourteen days' trial the prisoner was acquitted. He was not, however, allowed to leave the court, but was detained on a fresh charge of inciting Whiteboys to murder a man named Bridge, who through torture was forced to give evidence against his Whiteboy companions. The body of Bridge was never found. In spite of the promise made to Sheehy, his trial took place in Clonmel, and, as he suspected, his enemies were too strong for him. The unhappy man was found guilty, hanged and quartered. With his last breath on the scaffold he protested his absolute innocence of the charge for which he suffered. The priest may not have been innocent of some of the charges brought against him, particularly in stirring up the people to resist their oppressors, but no one believed him guilty of the murder of Bridge, while all felt that the trial was a mockery of justice. The murder of this man left a deep and lasting resentment in the popular mind, without deterring any of the atrocities committed by the Whiteboys.

While the Whiteboy disturbances were spreading in the south among the Catholic peasantry, another revolt of a similar character broke out amongst the Protestants of the north. The disturbers took the name of 'Oakboys' in consequence of their wearing in their hats green boughs of oak. The Oakboys rose to resist a recent Act which ordered that all the highways should be repaired by the personal labour of the householders.

Every man was bound to give six days' labour in the year, and whoever had a horse was bound to give six days' use of the horse as well. At this time the landed proprietors, who constituted the grand juries, had made roads which were of little use to the community at large, but only useful for the exclusive benefit of their own estates; they wished to throw the burden of making and repairing these on the poorest of the community. In addition to this, the question of the tithes became a grievance in the north as well as in the south. In 1763 a general refusal to work was followed by a rising and a demand for a redress of all grievances against tithe proctors and landlords. A new and more equitable Road Act at last restored peace and tranquillity to the north, which nothing but threats could otherwise have procured.

Hardly had this disturbance been put down than another outbreak took place in the north. The Marquis of Donegal was one of the largest landed proprietors in the north of Ireland. He was an absentee, and when his leases fell in, instead of renewing them

at a moderate increase of rent, he determined to raise a sum of 100,000*l.* in fines upon his tenantry, which they were unable to pay. The consequences were that their improvements were confiscated, their land turned into pasture, the whole population driven from their homes, and the land let to some rich merchants in Belfast. Many of the smaller landlords in the north followed the example of the Marquis of Donegal. The people complained that they were reduced to poverty, and those who refused to pay the extravagant rents demanded were replaced by Papists, who were ready to promise anything in order to get a footing on the land which was formerly torn from them. The conduct of the gentry brought the misery of the Ulster tenantry to a climax in a short time; thousands of ejected tenants banded together under the name of 'Steelboys,' determined to fight for their rights. They destroyed cattle, attacked houses, administered illegal oaths, and undertook the part of general reformers. Large bodies of soldiers were sent down to the disturbed districts, and an Act was passed authorising the removal of the trials from the disturbed counties to Dublin, and accordingly some of the rioters were tried there, but the feeling against the new law was so strong that they were acquitted. In December 1773 Parliament retraced its steps and repealed the obnoxious Act, but thousands of the sturdy farmers turned their backs on the country and sought a refuge in the New England colonies. The ejected tenants of those northern es-

tates, with deep resentment in their hearts, formed a large part of the revolutionary armies which severed the colonies from England.

Royal commissions were appointed to inquire into the causes of the disturbances both of the Whiteboys, Oakboys, and Hearts-of-steel-boys. The legislation which followed affords a striking illustration of the way in which party feeling and class interests have always ruled in Ireland. The complaints of the Steelboys were against their landlords. For them came no redress. The Oakboys were a Protestant community, which entitled them to some hearing. The Act relating to the byways was repealed, and a provision was made for the future repair of the roads by a rate levied on rich and poor alike in every barony. The grievance of the Whiteboys was precisely similar, but they were Roman Catholics. No step was taken to prevent excessive enclosures of the commons, but a bill was passed which made it felony for more than six persons to assemble at night. The grievance of the southern peasantry was refused a hearing, and the policy of coercion was carried out until the system grew into disaffection and rebellion. The preceding notices of the condition of the people, the cruelty of their oppressors, and the various agrarian disturbances resulting from them during a period of thirty years, from the beginning of the reign of George III. to the origin of the society of United Irishmen in 1791, though apparently uncon-

nected with the particular epoch, are by no means irrelevant to the subject.

In 1784 a religious war broke out between the Protestants and Catholics in the county of Armagh. The quarrel originated between two Presbyterian peasants, grew into a village brawl, and soon spread into the adjacent counties. Both parties were sprung from the lowest and most ignorant of the peasantry. They met, fought, and several lives were lost. By law the Roman Catholics were not entitled to possess arms. The Protestants took advantage of this by forming bands who went round at daybreak to make domiciliary visits to their houses to search for arms, and hence obtained the name 'Peep-of-day-boys.' The Roman Catholics associated themselves for self-protection, and went by the name of 'Defenders.'

So serious were those riots that bodies of volunteers were revived for the purpose of keeping order; but this did not improve matters, as the volunteers, being Protestants, generally sided with their co-religionists. The magistrates showed a similar partiality. It was on this plea of disturbance that the Government made their demands for Coercion Bills. This condition of affairs was due to the fanatical antagonism of the two sections of the community, and the culpable negligence of the magistrates. The object of the Protestant faction, known as Peep-of-day-boys, or Wreckers, was to expel from the country the Catholics who were scattered among the Protestants, and get possession of their holdings. The Defenders

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had become so formidable that they were becoming a terror to the country. They retaliated fiercely on their persecutors, extending their operations to attacking houses for the purpose of obtaining arms. Roving bands patrolled the country, and constant fights were recurring. In the south and west, Whiteboys reappeared under the name of Defenders, with the old system of swearing the people not to pay tithes, and intimidating landlords.

In September 1795 a large body of Defenders came across a number of Peep-of-day-boys at a village called the Diamond, where a regular battle took place, in which the Defenders were beaten. The Protestants set up a new organisation, demanding oaths of secrecy from all who were enrolled, and calling themselves Orange lodges, from William, Prince of Orange, who was supposed to have established Protestantism in the north. The Catholics, after this transaction, never attempted to make a stand, but the Orangemen commenced a persecution of the blackest dye. They would no longer permit a Catholic to exist in the country. They posted up in the cabins of these unfortunate victims this pithy notice: 'To Hell or Connaught,' and appointed a limited time in which the necessary removal of persons and property was to be made. If, after the expiration of that period, the notice had not been complied with, the Orangemen assembled, destroyed the furniture, burnt the habitation, and forced the ruined families to fly elsewhere for shelter. While these outrages were going

on, the resident magistrates were not found to resist them, and in some instances were even more than inactive spectators. Catholics were attacked indiscriminately ; masters were compelled to dismiss Catholic servants, landlords to dismiss Catholic tenants. The first Orange lodge was formed on September 21, 1795, at the house of a man named Sloan, in the obscure village of Loughgall. What gave birth to Orangeism was an attempt to plant colonies of Protestants on farms or tenements of Catholics who had been forcibly ejected. Numbers of them were seen wandering about the country, hungry, half-naked, and infuriated. The disturbances commenced in the neighbourhood of Church Hill, between Portadown and Dungannon, and then extended over nearly all the northern counties. After many of the Catholics were driven from the country, some found a refuge in Connaught, the original settlement assigned the Catholics by Cromwell. Years after, when peace and quietness was restored, some returned. The property which they left was transferred in most instances to Protestants by the landlords. At first the association was entirely confined to the lower orders, but it soon worked its way upwards, and as early as November 1789 there appears a correct report of the rules and regulations officially drawn up and submitted to the Grand Lodge under the presidency of Thomas Verner, grand master, and J. C. Beresford, grand secretary.

The state of the country soon after the formation

of these societies is faithfully described in an address which Lord Gosford, governor of Armagh, submitted to all the leading magistrates. His lordship stated that he had called them together to submit a plan to their consideration for checking the enormities which disgraced the country. 'It is no secret,' he says, 'that persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty which have in all ages distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this country. Neither age nor even acknowledged innocence is sufficient to excite mercy, much less afford protection. The only crime which the wretched objects of this merciless persecution are charged with is the crime of easy proof—it is simply a profession of the Catholic faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this species of delinquency, and the sentence they pronounce is equally concise and terrible: it is nothing less than confiscation of all property and immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful and surely unnecessary to detail the horrors that attend the execution of so wide and tremendous a proscription, which certainly exceeds, in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient and modern history can afford; for when have we heard, or in what history of human cruelties have we read, of more than half the inhabitants of a populous country deprived at one blow of the means as well as the fruits of their industry, and driven in the midst of an inclement winter to seek shelter for

themselves and their hapless families where chance may guide them ? This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this country ; yet surely it is sufficient to awaken sentiments of indignation and compassion in the coldest heart. Those horrors are now acting, and acting with impunity. The spirit of impartial justice has for a time disappeared from this country, and the supineness of the magistracy is a topic of conversation in every corner of the kingdom.'

When the Insurrection Act and the Convention Bill were introduced, the excesses of the peasantry, whom they had goaded into resistance, were denounced by the Viceroy and the legal officers of the Government, but not the slightest allusion was made to the outrages of the exterminators of Armagh : nay, bills of indemnity were passed to protect their leaders and magisterial accomplices from all legal proceedings on the part of their victims. As to the effects of these societies in promoting the views of the United Irishmen, it is clearly admitted by their executive that the persecution of the people of Armagh, the protection of the exterminators, and the enactment of sanguinary laws, had not only filled the ranks of the society, but led the executive to the conclusion that the Government had forfeited all claims to obedience and was to be resisted.

The meetings at the various Orange lodges were chiefly for the indulgence of festivity. The grand

festival was on July 1, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, on which occasion the charter toast was drunk by every member on his bare knees. The standing dish was sheep's trotters, in delicate allusion to King James's last use of his lower extremities in Ireland; and, the cloth being removed, the charter toast, the antiquity of which was of so ancient a date as the year 1689, was pronounced by the grand master on his bare joints to the kneeling assemblage in the following words:—'Here is toward the glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the great and good King William, not forgetting Oliver Cromwell, who assisted in redeeming us from popery, slavery, arbitrary power, brass money, and wooden shoes,' &c. &c. The concluding part of this loyal toast is a tissue of vulgar indecencies and impious imprecations on 'bishops, priests, and deacons,' or any other fraternity of the clergy who refused this toast, consigning their members to the operation of red-hot harrows, and their mangled carcasses to the lower regions.

Much may be learned from the toast, about which there is no concealment. Brass money refers to James's finance, and wooden shoes to his French allies. Orangemen are still fond of beating drums and flaunting flags, and the allusion to 'no surrender' will be enough to set any meeting of the society on fire with blatant, ignorant enthusiasm. The writer has lived for some time in the counties of Tyrone and Down, and can personally vouch for the

existence of the same intolerant spirit which marked the period of '98.

Few of the Orangemen of the north were probably actuated by the motives to which their proceedings are commonly attributed. It is generally supposed that they were animated by a blind indiscriminate fury against the people, solely on account of their religion. This is not a fair statement, and whoever inquires into the history of these times will find it is not true. These men were impelled, as their descendants are, by a simple desire to get possession of property or privileges belonging to the people who had not the power to protect either, and to give their rapacity the colour of a zeal for the interests of their own religion.

Orangemen constantly boast of their loyalty, but this loyalty was contingent on their being left alone, and on the refusal of the most ordinary rights to their Catholic brethren. As a matter of fact, those Orange societies were treasonable in the highest degree. In the famous Kentish conspiracy, the Orangemen of Dublin attempted to murder Lord Wellesley, the Viceroy. They entered into a conspiracy to seat their grand master, the Duke of Cumberland, upon the throne, and to set aside the succession of the Princess Victoria ; and, to secure this end, they tried to corrupt the army and the Church. They managed to win over one bishop to their side, and one of the ablest of the judges ; they might have been successful in their treasonable conspiracy were it not for the

energy and watchfulness of that admirable Liberal, Joseph Hume, who exposed and upset their plans. By a unanimous vote of the Commons, indictments were prepared against the leaders, including the Duke of Cumberland. This grand master, however, before the matter came to an issue, dissolved the societies, and so the matter ended. This conspiracy was of a formidable character, for when Mr. Hume took up the matter, there were over 300,000 Orangemen enrolled in England and Ireland. Sir William Molesworth, later on, proposed that the leaders of the Orangemen should be prosecuted. In 1845 there was a revival of the Orange institutions, after the check given to their former activity. They grew to such alarming dimensions in 1857, that the Lord Chancellor ordered all gentlemen to withdraw from the Orange association, on pain of losing their commissions as justices of the peace. The old fire of bigotry lingered and spread as far as Canada. This led to attempts at insulting the Prince of Wales in 1860 when he visited that country. That the spirit of insubordination is still alive and smouldering like a fallen fire, may be inferred from the bitter animus displayed by Orangemen toward their Catholic brethren in the recent riots, fanned by the intemperate speech of Lord Randolph Churchill.

Orangemen were opposed to every measure of importance in Ireland — the emancipation of the Catholics, the accession of Queen Victoria, municipal reform, disestablishment—and now they assail and

vilify the promoters of Home Rule, and threaten civil war ; ditches are to be lined with those pot-house heroes bearing rifles and Bibles. The writer has had abundant opportunity of judging the heroes in question, and the use they make of their Bibles, and has no hesitation in declaring that, if their knowledge and use of firearms are on a par with their knowledge and use of the divine record, they will prove a very harmless army, and may be allowed to remain in their self-elected situation—the ditch.

It would be doing the ascendency party a great injustice to suppose that their animosity to their Roman Catholic countrymen arose from a mere spirit of fanaticism or of mistaken enthusiasm in their religious sentiments. The plan of converting souls, by converting the soil of the old inhabitants of the country to the use of the new settler, is of ancient date. With this party the matter is one of money, patronage, preferment, and property in land.

When the Puritans sought a refuge in America, they found the most fertile portion of Massachusetts in the possession of the Indians ; they did not think of dispossessing the rightful owners of the broad lands they coveted, without giving the sanctimonious air of a religious proceeding to the contemplated spoliation. They convened a meeting, which was opened with prayer and all due solemnity, and the following resolutions are said to have been passed unanimously :

Resolved—1. 'That the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof.'

2. 'That the Lord has given the earth as an inheritance unto His saints.'

3. 'That we are His saints.'

The zeal of Orangemen on behalf of religion was indicated by a similar spirit. The penal code was framed for the protection of confiscated property, and the assumed hostility to the religion of the people who were dispossessed, was only a practice in accordance with the purport of the iniquitous statutes which had already legalised three general confiscations within a period of two hundred years. This legalised system of rapine and proscription has been productive of evils which are still felt, and those who, along with the lands of the proscribed people, obtained all the political privileges that were thought essential to their new possessions, would have been more just than the generality of mankind if, having the power to protect the spoils they had obtained, they had not abused their privileges, and did not see in every extension of the people's liberties another encroachment on the limits of their power, influence, and political pre-eminence.

In all these confederacies of the people arising from agricultural distress, no matter how grinding the oppression of the authorities, how cruel the exactions of their landlords, how galling and exorbitant the demands of the tithe proctors, there was no

availing sympathy from either the aristocracy or squirearchy of the land.

The atrocities committed by the Orangemen on the people, not only in the north but generally through the country previous to the rebellion, have never been fully revealed. In fact, little more is known of them than is to be gathered from general descriptions of house wrecking, cabin burning, and wholesale extermination. At one fell swoop six hundred families were swept off the country; no historian or journalist of that day dared publish the particulars. Besides that, a spirit of theological animus sprang up which embittered the relation between Protestant and Catholic, of which the following story affords an example. In one of the Orange clubs in Dublin, when drinking to excess was the habitual practice, a gentleman, in a spirit of bravado, flung from the window a vessel full of filthy fluid, which, coming on the head of some unlucky pedestrian, was hailed by a shriek from below, whereupon the offender exclaimed in a drunken jerky voice: 'If you are a Protestant (hic), I humbly beg your pardon; but if you are a Papist (hic), take it and bad luck to you.'

The establishment of the volunteer associations in Ireland had naturally altered the face of the country; in many places Catholics had embodied themselves in the ranks of those patriotic guards, and a friendly intercourse with their Protestant brethren naturally followed. The ministers became alarmed at what might be the result if religious hatred were banished;

to avert such consequences they felt it their duty to create divisions. Various means were employed to effect this immoral object, among others they reverted to the diabolical one of fomenting those religious hatreds which had so often consumed the vitals and palsied the native energy of the country. They taught the weak and credulous Protestants and Presbyterians to believe that if Catholics who had obtained arms during the war were suffered to retain them, they would seize on the first opportunity to overturn the Government, and erect popery on the ruins of the Protestant religion. This and other acts equally insidious had the desired effect on the minds of many persons, particularly in the northern counties ; it was this which infused the angry spirit exhibited by the Peep-of-day-boys, and continued to the bitter end by the Orange associations. It was to combat this feeling of hostility and quell sectarian bitterness, with the view of creating a political harmony, that Tone and the other leaders of the United Irishmen vainly contended. The strong resistance offered by the corrupt officials at the Castle, together with the alien government indifferent to the real wants of the people, proved too strong for them. Tone was sentenced to be hanged, for attempting to carry into effect the project of uniting men of all religious descriptions. Colonel Robert Stuart (subsequently Lord Castlereagh), who sanctioned with his presence the sedition of the sword-in-hand deliberations on reform, became a foremost man in those councils which consigned

United Irishmen to the gallows. The aim and end of the Government of Ireland in 1798 was to perpetuate oppression, and break down the national spirit and national independence that menaced its existence ; to make the people servile and powerless, and to keep them so by fomenting religious dissensions, and all this under the veil of a holy zeal for religious interests. Against this Government the society of United Irishmen reared its head and raised its hand, and failed in the daring struggle with its power.

> God made the land : and all His works are good.
> Man made the laws : and all they breathe is blood.
> Unhallowed annals of six hundred years !
> A code of blood, a history of tears.

The contagion of the American revolt was productive in Ireland of that sturdy spirit of nationality and love of independence which called into existence the Volunteer Association. The contagion of the French Revolution of 1789 communicated those influences to Irish politics which eventuated in the formation of the Society of United Irishmen.

Of all the barbarities that disgraced this calamitous conflict, the recurrence of the use of torture for the purpose of inspiring terror, of detecting crime, or revenging wrongs, was the most atrocious. The Right Hon. J. C. Beresford, once a member of the famous Back-stairs Cabinet, was connected with the inhuman tortures inflicted on the rebels. He built in Marlborough Street a riding house for his yeomanry

MR. BERESFORD'S RIDING HOUSE.

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troop, and this was afterwards used as a place for whipping suspected persons, to make them discover what in all probability they never knew. This was a time when martial law authorised every species of cruelty. In Mr. Beresford's riding house, this infernal system was carried on to a greater extent than in any other place of execution. An Irish wit wrote an inscription on a signboard and fixed it over the entrance, informing the public that 'Mangling was done here by J. Beresford and Co.' In conjunction with Major Sirr, Mr. Beresford maintained a battalion of spies, which were often referred to as 'Beresford's Bloodhounds.' He largely helped to stimulate the rebellion of '98 by a general coercive policy, which was cruelly followed out by the administration of torture. When Lord Castlereagh ignored the charge, Mr. Beresford, in Parliament, not only admitted but defended the vile practice.

Beresford was secretary to the Grand Lodge of Orangemen, and infused their views into almost every department of the Irish Government. The capriciousness of popular feeling on his account was as varied as his own career. Elected to the office of Lord Mayor of the city, his carriage was drawn through the streets by the same mob who often before hounded him down. Entering into partnership with a man named Woodmason, he opened a bank in Dublin which resulted in failure and bankruptcy. Beresford in consequence became a ruined man, cut by the friends who once cringed before him. Some persons

who had known him in his glory, pitied the broken-down man in threadbare clothes, who drearily walked the Dublin streets. This Beresford was the third son of the Right Hon. John Beresford, the sanguine terrorist of '98, the flaming anti-union patriot in 1800, banker and bankrupt. He commanded a corps of yeomanry, who brutally massacred the people; the scourge and pitch cap in his hands did much to make his memory dear to the Orangemen of Ireland.

The command of the army in Ireland was entrusted to Colonel Luttrell, afterwards created Lord Carhampton; the character of the man, his methods of putting down insurrection, and restoring tranquillity to the country, throw considerable light on the motives of the Government. Colonel Luttrell first attained notoriety at the Middlesex election when he was selected as the Government candidate to oppose John Wilkes, the favourite of the people. He then acted as unconstitutional a part as he afterwards did in Ireland in his capacity of military governor; Junius in his biting satire said: 'There is in this young man's conduct a stain of prostitution which for its singularity I cannot but admire. He has discovered a new line in the human character; he has disgraced even the name of Luttrell.' The fact was that Luttrell, like many others, came to Ireland to mend a broken fortune, and was utterly unscrupulous in his conduct: he joined the Beresford party in their system of coercion, and proved himself a ready tool in their hands; he instituted the picketing, free quarters, half hanging,

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LORD CARHAMPTON'S BLOODHOUNDS.

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flogging and pitch cappings, which fanned the flame of disaffection into open rebellion. The army under Lord Carhampton was permitted to indulge in the greatest excesses: cottages were burned, peasants shot, wives and daughters violated; so demoralised had the army become under his generalship, that General Sir Ralph Abercrombie declared 'that it became formidable to all but the enemy.' Mr. Fitzpatrick, in his interesting work on Ireland before the Union, gives some further particulars of this man's family, which show into what a depth of degradation they had fallen. Luttrell was regarded with such awe and hatred by the peasantry, that many supposed he was possessed with a devil, and he was known by the name of 'Satanides,' owing to the cold-blooded atrocities which he committed. So deep was the hatred he inspired that the place of his residence was changed, when the property passed out of his hands into that of a new owner. His ancestor was the reputed betrayer of King James. Extinction has overtaken Lord Carhampton's peerage and race. One of the last of the family was Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, who resided with her sister, the Duchess of Cumberland. In those aristocratic times gambling was not confined to men; the Princess Elizabeth, as she was called, played high, and did not scruple to cheat. On the death of her sister she was thrown into jail. There she gave a hairdresser 50*l.* to marry her, and, her debts becoming his, she was discharged. She went abroad, where she descended

lower and lower, till, being convicted of picking pockets at Augsburg, she was condemned to clean the streets, chained to a wheelbarrow. In that miserable situation she terminated her existence by poison.

The vices of the commander-in-chief of the army in Ireland were imitated and surpassed by some of the officers under his command. Lieutenant Hepenstall presents a remarkable instance of the brutality of the day. This notorious man was brought up to the business of an apothecary, but in 1795 renounced the pestle for the sword and the halter. He was a Goliath in stature and a Nero in feeling. If Hepenstall met a peasant who could not satisfactorily account for himself, he knocked him down with a blow from his fist, which was quite as effective as a sledge-hammer; then, adjusting a noose round the prisoner's neck, drew the rope over his own shoulders, and trotted about, the victim's legs dangling in the air, until death at last put an end to the torture. These details, almost incredible at the present day, have been authenticated by several witnesses, and even admitted by Hepenstall himself, at the trial of Hyland, in September 1797, at the Athy assizes, under the Whiteboy Act. Hepenstall, touching the mode of procuring evidence from the witness against the prisoner, said on examination, 'He had used some threats, and pricked him with a bayonet, to induce him to confess;' and when cross-examined by counsel said, 'This prisoner had also been pricked by a bayonet, a rope had been put about his neck, which was thrown over his (Hepenstall's)

shoulders; he then pulled the rope, and drew the prisoner up, and he was hung in this way for a short time, but continued sulky, and confessed nothing.' Whereupon the counsel said, 'Then you acted the executioner, and played the part of a gallows?' 'Yes, please your honour,' was the reply of Lieut. Hepenstall. The Solicitor-General, Mr. Toler, afterwards created Lord Norbury, complimented him as having done no act which was not natural to a zealous, loyal, and efficient officer. He went by the name of the 'Walking Gallows' ever afterwards. The memory of this infamous man has received its deserts at the hands of a clerical gentleman of the name of Barrett, in the form of an epitaph:

> Here lie the bones of Hepenstall,
> Judge, jury, gallows, rope, and all.

The administration of the law in Ireland has been always a bitter subject of controversy. There is no mistaking its gross partiality in the times to which we are referring. Lord Norbury for thirty years performed the triple *rôle* of bully, butcher, and buffoon. His services in the first capacity proved useful to the then Government, and helped him far more than his law to judicial elevation. These were days when to be a good pistol-shot was an indispensable adjunct of a legal education; barristers then literally fought their way to the bench. Norbury's old passions and prejudices clung to him as a judge; he browbeat timid counsel, and suggested mortal combat by remarking

'that he would not seek shelter behind the bench, or merge the gentleman in the chief justice.' His relish for capital conviction was undisguised; at a single assize he passed sentence of death on 198 individuals, of whom 197 were hanged. With the black cap on his head he joked as freely as though it were a cap and bells. 'Ah! my lord, give me a long day!' craved a wretched culprit on a certain June 20. 'Your wish is granted,' replied the judge; 'I will give you until to-morrow, the longest day in the year.' Lord Norbury's charges transcend description. He resembled Jeffreys, the hanging judge, and his conduct was not dissimilar. Flinging his judicial robe aside and casting off his wig, he would start from his seat and throw off a wild harangue, in which neither law, method, nor argument could be discovered. It generally consisted of narratives of his early life, which it was impossible to associate with the subject; of jests from Joe Miller, mixed with jokes of his own manufacture, bearing an unmistakable odour of the stables and other places more unsavoury. A sample of Lord Norbury's wit may be gathered from the report of a man who solicited his lordship for a shilling to bury a poor solicitor. 'Here is a guinea,' said Norbury; 'bury one and twenty of them.' He resigned in 1827, and died three years after, universally execrated for his inhuman conduct. When his body was lowered with ropes into a deep grave, a voice in the crowd cried, 'Give him rope *galore*, boys; he never spared it to others.'

During the eighteenth century, many an ecclesiastic was elevated to the mitre and imported to Ireland, not to discharge episcopal functions solely, but to act as politicians and govern the country as despots. Most of them were absentees, living as little as they could in the country saddled with their expense. Hackett, bishop of Down and Connor, habitually resided in a snug mansion in Hammersmith, and for the twenty years during which he held his position he regularly put up his benefices for sale. This exemplary bishop owed his promotion, not to his theological acquirements or personal piety, but to his skill in water-colour painting, which recommended him to ladies and gentlemen in power. Pooley, bishop of Raphoe, lived but eighteen months in Ireland, out of eleven years' episcopate. Ashe, bishop of Clogher for eighteen years, and Fitzgerald, bishop of Clonfert for thirty years, were non-resident. The latter lived to be an imbecile, and a young woman managed the diocese. The bishop gave most of the livings to hangers-on and relatives of his young wife. This, however, is an occurrence which is hardly worth chronicling, as the system continued down to disestablishment, and flourishes vigorously in the English Church. Purchase has been abolished in the army of the nation, but the established army of Christ is still maintained by sops to Cerberus. Most of the Irish bishops dropped their ecclesiastical character and were simply great noblemen and powerful lords, the very opposite to

the usual representatives of Him whose 'kingdom was not of this world.' Some of those men were remarkable for their learning and mental capacity, if wanting in their spiritual character. Berkley, the famous bishop of Cloyne, sent down to his diocese twenty-two cartloads of books and one hogshead of wine, to cheer his solitude and resist the damp of his episcopal residence—for it rains sometimes in Cork. Another prelate, of a different turn of mind, sent down to his diocese one load of books and twenty-four hogsheads of wine, illustrating the high tone of the episcopal character in those good old times, when the blue ribbon was not recognised as a clerical decoration. The good bishop of Clogher went a step further than his brethren; he was devoted to recreations, his gospel was one of mirth: he instituted horse-racing to amuse the people. The bishop of Clogher was very popular in his day, but the number of converts he made from the errors of Rome to the enlightened freedom of Protestantism is not reported. Beresford, bishop of Tuam, another prominent member of the inexhaustible influential sept of the Beresfords, who, from the time of their first landing to the present day monopolised the best of all the good things Ireland had to offer, married the sister of Lord Clare. This influential prelate died in 1819, and his personalty was sworn to as 250,000*l*. Charles Ager, archbishop of Cashel, was another prelate who was given more to making money than converting the benighted Irish, pining for the

'bread of life.' He was translated to Dublin in 1806, and created Earl of Normanton. This prelate left behind him a fortune of 400,000*l.* The greed of both bishops and undertakers was so notorious that Lord Townshend, when viceroy, had occasion to remark of one, 'That if his Majesty gave Mr. Hutchinson the whole kingdom of England and Ireland, he would beg the Isle of Man for a cabbage garden.' The primate of Armagh, the highest dignitary in Ireland, was Dr. George Stone, described as the worst politician in the worst age of Europe. Originally the son of a jailer of Winchester, he had risen by his talents and audacity to the highest position in the Church, and became the prime minister of the reigning lord-lieutenant. In his exalted office he clung to the vices of his youth. His house in Leixlip was both a tavern and brothel, where crimes, which must be nameless, were committed. His infamies provoked the toast of those drinking days: 'May the importations of Ganymedes into Ireland be discontinued.' These were days when free utterance of opinions on the conduct of high officials was not tolerated. The bishops, however, were not all bad, neither were they all given to money-making. The narrowest and most intolerant of their number was Primate Boulter, whose letters show us his character, and reveal to us his strong desire to crush all feeling of nationality, and fill all the highest offices of the Church and State with Englishmen. Yet he left the bulk of his large fortune to the Church, which never

made its stamp on the people, owing to its venality and the unworthiness of its representatives. While the above set of vultures preyed on the vitals of Ireland, her coffers were still further drained by a pension list, increasing year by year. In 1784 it amounted to 86,176*l.*, and in ten years further it ran up to 100,800*l.*; nor did it stop here. It may be worth while asking who were the recipients of this corrupt despotism, which, besides adding to Ireland's destitution, increased the turbulence of her sons. The first pensioners were the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland; each drew a yearly allowance of 3,000*l.* The Princess Amelia had 1,000*l.* a year, and the Princess Augusta 5,000*l.* Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, pocketed 5,200*l.*; the representatives of the Countess of Yarmouth, 4,000*l.*; the executors of Lords Grantham and Shannon 2,000*l.* respectively. Lord Tery had secured 3,000*l.*, and Lord Mayo 1,033*l.* The Countess of Belmont was given 1,500*l.*; 'Single-speech' Hamilton, 2,500*l.*; Mr. Orde, 1,700*l.* Only Lord Rodney and the representatives of Lord Hawke received 2,000*l.* as a reward of merit. The character of the rulers, and the exactions demanded from a prostrate and ill-used country, may furnish some solid reasons why a few single-minded men, in the face of opposing odds, should make a desperate attempt to cleanse the Augean stables of those monsters of depravity who battened on the country like a flock of vultures.

The civil rulers of Ireland, appointed by the

Crown, were in no respect better in morals than those ecclesiastics already mentioned. The Duke of Rutland was said to have been sent over to drink the Irish into good humour; his viceroyalty was the scene of much stormy contention, he was himself wholly devoted to his private pleasures; his court was the residence of riot and dissipation; his beautiful duchess, like the late Empress of the French, led the fashion in all feminine extravagance and frivolity. The duke's immorality was open and barefaced. There was in Dublin during his time a noted courtesan named Peg Plunket. This creature occupied more of the Viceroy's attention than did the Privy Council; she sometimes shared even the honours of royalty. One night he visited her, accompanied by a guard of honour, and morning dawned on a troop of his Majesty's dragoons parading in solemn state before the house of his Excellency's courtesan. Peg lived in magnificent style in one of the most fashionable squares in Dublin, and her carriage, livery, and mode of life were the talk of the town. An absurd mistake made by a lady of rank, the wife of an eminent Protestant divine, added further to her notoriety, by giving publicity to her wit. It happened one day that this lady called on Miss Plunket, of whose reputation the visitor was ignorant, to inquire into the character of a dismissed servant. In a short time she discovered her mistake, and wished to get away as quickly as possible. Peg perceived the motive for this haste, and, thoroughly enjoying

the opportunity presented her, said with perfect *sang froid*, 'I beg your ladyship not to be in the least alarmed. I shall let your ladyship away through the back door, in the garden, which I specially constructed for the bishops.'

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CHAPTER III.

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD.

Parentage—Education—Military profession—Arrives in America—Anecdote—Returns to Ireland—Enters Parliament—'The faithful Tony'—Visits Gibraltar—Henry Charles Sirr—Cobbett—First love—Member for Athy—Noble character Voting with the Opposition—Promotion—Quarrel with Duke of Richmond—Opinion of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—Conduct in the House—Thomas Paine—Cashiered—Madame de Genlis—Pamela—Romantic history—Fatal beauty—Lord Edward in love—Marriage and departure for England.

The labours of Moore have left very little to be done or desired in the way of justice to the memory of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a man singularly amiable, estimable, and lovable, to an extent which it is difficult to find words to describe. But in regard to Lord Edward's connection with the Society of United Irishmen, his views of the circumstances which led to that connection, the qualities of mind, professional abilities, natural gifts, acquired knowledge, and resources, much remains to be said.

The young patriot soldier of the house of Leinster, fifth son of James, the twentieth earl of Kildare, was born on October 15, 1763.

Lord Edward lost his father at the age of ten years, and it would seem as if that loss had contri-

buted to concentrate all his love on his mother; for certainly, few instances in the biography of any country are to be found of stronger attachment and more filial fondness than he displayed from boyhood, and to the end of his career. The Duchess of Leinster, soon after her marriage with Mr. Ogilvie, went with her husband and several of her children to France.

The young Lord Edward, when he accompanied his mother to that country, was under sixteen years of age. He was intended for the military profession, and from the period of his arrival in France his education, which Mr. Ogilvie took charge of, was chiefly directed to the acquisition of knowledge that would qualify him for his future pursuits. In 1779 the family returned to England, and soon after Lord Edward commenced his military career in a militia regiment, of which his uncle, the Duke of Richmond, was colonel. In 1780 he was appointed to a lieutenancy in the 26th regiment of foot, then stationed in the south of Ireland. Soon after he had joined his regiment at Youghal, an exchange was effected for him into the 19th, which was under orders for America, and in the month of June 1781 he sailed for Charleston, where Lord Rawdon was then in command. From the time Lord Edward commenced his military career in America, the love of his profession, and the necessity of making himself master of it, are themes of frequent recurrence in his letters. Not long after his arrival in America, in 1781,

when serving with his regiment (the 19th), he distinguished himself in an engagement with the forces of one of the ablest American commanders, Colonel Lee, not only by his bravery, but by his military skill, in a manner to attract the special notice of Major Doyle (subsequently General Sir John Doyle), and to obtain for him the appointment of aide-de-camp on Lord Rawdon's staff, in which position he soon had an opportunity of displaying his chivalrous valour, and of gaining the entire confidence of his superior officers. A little later we find the acting adjutant-general recording an act of undisciplined valour of 'the brave young creature,' whom he had to 'rate soundly' at the moment, and to represent to the general in command, in terms anything but unfavourable to the gallant young officer :—

In approaching one of the English positions, the enemy's light troops in advance became more numerous, and rendered more frequent patrols necessary. Major Doyle was setting out upon a patrol, and went to apprise Lord Edward, who, however, was sought for in vain, and the major proceeded without him, and at the end of two miles, when emerging from the forest, the latter found Lord Edward engaged with *two* of the enemy's irregular horse. He had wounded one of his opponents when his sword broke in the middle, and he must have soon fallen in the unequal struggle, had not his enemies fled on perceiving the head of Sir John Doyle's column.

The higher Lord Edward advanced in his profes-

sion, the more he thought it incumbent upon him to apply himself to its study.

In March 1783, he writes from St. Lucia: 'My profession is that of a military man, and I would reproach myself hereafter if I thought I lost any opportunity of improving myself in it, did I not at all times do as much as lay in my power to merit the promotion I am entitled to expect,' &c.

In the beginning of 1783, he visited the islands of Martinique and St. Lucia; and, Lord Rawdon having previously returned to England in consequence of ill health, Lord Edward a few months later, finding his only hope for promotion was in Europe, and that if he were at home he might obtain a company in the Guards, or a lieutenant-colonelcy by going to the East Indies, determined on returning to Ireland, which purpose he carried into execution in the summer of 1783. It was Lord Edward's destiny to visit America during the War of Independence, to witness some of the stormy scenes of the struggle, and to find ample food for reflection in the successful resistance of a people asserting their liberty which he had witnessed during the short period of his sojourn in America.

Soon after his arrival in Ireland, in the autumn of 1783, he was brought into Parliament by his brother, the Duke of Leinster, for the borough of Athy.

When Lord Edward returned to Europe from America, in 1783, he brought over a negro servant,

who is frequently mentioned in the letters of his kind master as 'the faithful Tony.' This negro was, probably, first met with at St. Lucia by Lord Edward, which island he had visited on service in the month of February of that year. During the remaining fifteen years of his life Tony continued in his service, accompanying his master wherever he went, devotedly attached to him, and Lord Edward's regard for 'the faithful Tony' appears to have been no less sincere. We find one brief reference to him at the conclusion of Moore's 'Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald':—'Poor Tony, of whose fate the reader must be desirous to know something, never held up his head after his noble master's death, and very soon after followed him.'

In the spring of 1786, Lord Edward (at that time a member of the Irish House of Commons) determined on entering himself at Woolwich, with the view of making himself thoroughly acquainted with military science by a regular course of study. This resolution of a young nobleman in his position, surrounded by all the allurements of fashionable society, courted by political parties, reflects no small credit on his character, and indicates plainly his strong attachment to his profession.

In 1786 we find Lord Edward accompanying his uncle, the Duke of Richmond, on a tour of inspection of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, and making a good use of the opportunities for improvement afforded him.

In 1787, Lord Edward visited Gibraltar, and, under the pretext of a tour of pleasure, carried into effect his real purpose of extending his military knowledge. While at Gibraltar, by a strange coincidence, Henry Charles Sirr, the man by whose hand he was destined eleven years later to lose his life, was in that garrison, where he states he knew Lord Edward. The fact is thus referred to by Sirr in a letter dated December 29, 1829, to the son of Captain Ryan, who met his death at the hands of Lord Edward in 1798 :—'I agree with you relative to Lord Edward. He was considered a highly honourable man at Gibraltar, where I knew him when he was on a visit to the governor of that garrison.' This fact, which had been so long kept in the background by the major, is a new feather in the cap of his celebrity. That former acquaintance with a man whom he knew to be so highly honourable, and subsequently shot so coolly, and with such deliberate aim, enhances, of course, the merit of that act of stern duty and stoic loyalty, the capture and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

From Gibraltar Lord Edward proceeded to Lisbon, where his popular manners and sterling merits gained for him a warm reception and the friendship of the principal people of that capital and its court during his sojourn there.

From Portugal he proceeded to Spain, visited Madrid, Cadiz, Granada, and other places of interest, but hastened back to England, weary of inactivity,

and longing for the occupations of that military life to which he was so strongly attached. Towards the latter end of May 1788 he sailed for America, for the purpose of joining his regiment, the 54th, which was then in Nova Scotia, and from the latter end of June to May 1789 he remained on service, stationed at intervals in New Brunswick, Halifax, Quebec, and Montreal.

In August 1789 he writes from New Brunswick: 'I grow fonder of my profession the more I see of it, and like being major much better than being lieutenant-colonel, for I only execute the commands of others.'

A little later: 'I have got a garden for the soldiers, which employs me a great deal. I flatter myself next year that it will furnish the men with great quantities of vegetables, which will be of great service to them.'

In Cobbett's 'Advice to the Young' we find a passage to the followinge ffect: 'I got my discharge from the army by the great kindness of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was then major of my regiment.'

Cobbett was sergeant-major of the 54th at the time of this occurrence, in October 1788. He states elsewhere that in the year 1800 he told Mr. Pitt what he thought of that meritorious officer: 'Lord Edward was a most humane and excellent man, and the only *really honest* officer he ever knew in the army.'

In April 1789 he set out on an arduous expedition with his servant Tony and a brother-officer from

Frederickton, in New Brunswick, to Quebec—an expedition of considerable difficulty—through an unexplored country, through forests and morasses, but one calculated to be of great advantage to the colony. They accomplished the journey in twenty-six days, lying out, of course, at night in the woods, without any covering except their blanket-coats. They steered by compass, and entered the river St. Lawrence within a league of Quebec. The journey was accomplished in 175 miles.

So much for the energy and enterprise of the young Irish officer in his twenty-sixth year. In June, 1789, Lord Edward's intercourse with the native Indians led to a singular adventure at Detroit, and an unprecedented honour to an English officer at the hands of an Indian chief, one of the Six Nations, by whom he was made a chief of the Bear Tribe.

Early in December he arrived at New Orleans, and, finding it impracticable to pursue an intended journey into Spanish America, he embarked for Europe, and in due time reached England.

In the wilds of America and in the forests of Canada, we find Lord Edward, after the fashion of Jacques, descanting on the advantages of 'this life more sweet than that of painted pomp.'—'more free from peril than the envious court,' which in the woods

> Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in everything.

He wanders in the woods of Canada, and exults in their solitudes, and travels through great tracts of country peopled only at wide intervals by Indian tribes, the simplicity of whose mode of life fills him with delight, or settlers widely scattered, in whose humble dwellings he finds peace and happiness, and is thankfully reminded by everything around him, '*There are no devilish politics here.*'

There are several references in Lord Edward's letters to an attachment of a very ardent nature formed in 1785 or 1786, to Lady Catherine Meade, second daughter of the Earl of Clanwilliam, who, a few years subsequently (in 1789), married Richard, fourth Viscount Powerscourt. But long before that occurrence we find Lord Edward's passion for this lady had subsided, and another and a stronger one had got possession of his heart. Its new idol was a Miss G——; but the young lady's father decidedly opposed the union, and eventually even forbade Lord Edward his house, and in the month of April, 1789, the young lady had become the wife of another. The disappointment of Lord Edward's hopes appears to have made a deep impression on his mind and heart, and probably had no small influence over his future career and the new direction given to his thoughts and pursuits.

When Lord Edward received the intelligence of the last-mentioned marriage, he was in Canada, on his second visit to the New World. He returned to

England early in 1790. Moore states, on his arrival in London he proceeded immediately to the house of his mother, who was then residing there, and by the merest accident was spared a meeting that could not fail to be distressing. He arrived at the house at the moment that a large party had seated themselves at dinner, 'among whom were the young bride of the preceding April, and her lord,' and was only prevented from entering the room by one of the guests, who recognised Lord Edward's voice and hastened to stop him.

When Lord Edward was brought into Parliament by his brother, the Duke of Leinster, in 1783, for the borough of Athy, he was then in his twenty-first year, one of the purest minded of human beings, incapable of harbouring a sentiment that was mean, sordid, or selfish, or giving expression to a thought that did not emanate from an unalterable conviction of the justice of the opinion he asserted, or the principle on which he acted.

We learn without surprise that Lord Edward felt no pleasure in his parliamentary life. What atmosphere in this world could be more uncongenial to the nature of such a being than that tainted one of the Irish House of Commons, that reeked with corruption, and the vile purposes for which that Parliament was constituted?

By the Irish parliamentary debates I find that Lord Edward Fitzgerald made his *début* in the Irish House of Commons for the borough of Athy after the gen-

eral election in July 1783. The first time that he spoke in the House, or at least that any observations of his are reported in the 'Parliamentary Register,' was in January 1785, on a motion of the Hon. Thomas Pakenham to present an address of thanks to the King for the appointment of the new Lord-Lieutenant, when Lord Edward is reported to have said: 'He would not object to the address if it had proceeded in the usual mode, as a mere complimentary matter of form; but when it declared an approbation of the firm and moderate measures of his Grace's Government—measures in which he could not coincide—he felt himself under the necessity of opposing that part of the address. He therefore moved that the words "experienced virtue and firmness" should be expunged, and the words "and whose private virtues entitle him to the esteem and regard of this House," should be inserted in their room.'

In the latter part of 1786 and beginning of 1787, Lord Edward's name is found in all divisions in the House of Commons, invariably on the side of his country, in favour of all measures that were tolerant, just, and liberal; that is to say, on the side that was always worsted in the Irish Parliament in those times. In 1788 the Duke of Leinster, having promised to give his support to the new Viceroy, Lord Buckinghamshire, voted with the Government; and as a matter of course in the Irish Parliament, when the patron of a borough changed sides, his member was expected to walk over to whatever side he supported.

Lord Edward disapproved of his brother's change, and resolved to remain in Opposition.

His uncle, the Duke of Richmond, however, prevailed on him reluctantly to give up his intention of voting with the Opposition, without reference to the Duke of Leinster's wishes. Family considerations in November 1788 were sufficient so far to influence Lord Edward in the course taken by him; but interested motives had no share in the result of the interference of the powerful Duke of Richmond. Though hitherto desirous of promotion in his service, he determined from that time forth to seek none at the hands of the Duke of Richmond, and to abstain from accepting a lieutenant-colonelcy or any other step, lest his actions as a member of Parliament might be biassed by any such motives as a desire for promotion. 'I am contented with my rank and station. I have no ambition; and however I might be flattered by getting on, it will never pay me for a blush for my actions. The feeling of shame is what I never could bear.'

He takes care to have a friend informed, who was then taking steps to obtain a lieutenant-colonelcy for him, that he will accept of no preferment.

'*Pray represent it strongly to him, and make him remember how obstinate I am when I once take a resolution.*' But Lord Edward's embarrassment was soon removed by the return of the Duke of Leinster to the Opposition, when the famous question of the regency was soon mooted.

In the spring of 1790, when Lord Edward returned from America to England, on his arrival in London he visited his uncle, the Duke of Richmond, who was then master-general of the ordnance, and was invited by the Duke to meet Mr. Pitt and Dundas at dinner. The result of that interview was so favourable an impression on Pitt and his colleague of Lord Edward's military talents that they offered immediately to promote him by brevet, and give him the command of the expedition that had been determined on against Cadiz. The flattering offer was promptly accepted. The Duke, on the following day, was to report the proposed arrangement to the King, and to be enabled to state that Lord Edward was no longer in opposition to the ministry. The Irish Parliament, which terminated on April 5, 1790, had then either recently expired, or was about to expire. Lord Edward had declared his intention henceforward to devote himself solely to his profession. The day following this arrangement, he found that the Duke of Leinster had returned him for the county of Kildare. His position being thus altered, the difficulties of his recent engagement were communicated to the Duke of Richmond, but not before the latter had made known to the King the proposed arrangement, and the condition which accompanied it. The result of this *contretemps* was an altercation between the Duke and his nephew, and a decided refusal on the part of the latter to desert the Opposition, and the relinquishment, as a matter of

course, of the command which had been offered to him.

This proceeding of Lord Edward, which led to an estrangement with the Duke of Richmond, enhanced his merits in the estimation of Fox and the leaders of the Whig party in England; and it had the effect also, unfortunately, of turning all his thoughts to politics. In the seventh session of the Parliament which met on January 21, and terminated on May 5, 1790, Lord Edward Fitzgerald having ceased to be the representative of the borough of Athy, was returned for the county of Kildare, and continued to represent that county for six years.

In December 1792 a body of the old volunteers, associated under the name of the First National Battalion, publicly announced their intention of assembling in Dublin, and parading publicly on an appointed day. The device of this corps was an Irish harp without a crown, surmounted by the Cap of Liberty. The Government issued a proclamation forbidding the assemblage the day preceding the appointed meeting. The Parliament was called on to ratify this proclamation. On this occasion Mr. Grattan supported the Government in issuing their proclamation; Lord Edward Fitzgerald, with more consistency, but less discretion perhaps, indignantly opposed that measure. He said with much vehemence: 'I give my most hearty disapprobation to this address, for I do think that the Lord-Lieutenant and the majority of this House are the worst subjects

the King has.' A storm of no ordinary violence was the result.

The virtuous ministerial party, the constitutional Beresfords, Tolers, Trenches, and Tottenhams, indignantly exclaimed: 'To the bar! Take down his words!' Everyone in the House shouted more or less, and became vehement and agitated, with one exception, and that was Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Divers unsuccessful attempts were made to get a satisfactory explanation from the contumelious lord; but all that could be effected was *une excuse pire que le délit.* The 'Parliamentary Register' does not report it; but the questionable apology is said to have amounted simply to an admission that 'he had spoken what had been taken down; '*twas* true, and he was sorry for it.'

'The House,' says the 'Parliamentary Register,' 'resolved *nem. con.* that the excuse offered by the Right Hon. Edward Fitzgerald, commonly called Lord Edward, for the words so spoken, is unsatisfactory and insufficient.

'Ordered—That Lord Edward do attend at the bar to-morrow.'

The following day his lordship attended at the bar of the House, made some kind of apology, which evidently was no apology at all, for it is not reported in the 'Parliamentary Register,' when, a division taking place, 'the apology was accepted by 135 votes in favour of it, 55 votes being only against its acceptance.'

On February 6, 1793, the Arms and Gunpowder Bill being gone into in committee, Lord Edward said, 'that the clause imposing penalties on the removal of arms from one place to another, was an infringement on the liberty of the subject. He was informed by gentlemen of administration that the Defenders were now in arms. In case of an attack upon his house, would he not be allowed arms without licence, for its defence? Must volunteers apply for a licence to the Lord-Lieutenant, his secretary, or the Commissioners of the Revenue, as the bill requires, as often as they wish to go through their evolutions? He therefore voted against this clause particularly, and considered the entire bill a penal one.'

In the debate on the Insurrection Act, productive of such calamitous results, in reference to the resolution of the House connected with that measure, Lord Edward said: 'I shall oppose this resolution, because I think that this resolution will not prevent the crimes of which the right honourable gentleman complains. The disturbances of the country, sir, are not to be remedied by any coercive measures, however strong; such measures will tend rather to exasperate than to remove the evil. Nothing, sir, can effect this, and restore tranquillity to the country, but a serious, a candid endeavour of Government and of this House to redress the grievances of the people. Redress these, and the people will return to their allegiance and their duty; suffer them to continue, and neither your resolutions nor your bills will have

any effect. I shall therefore, sir, oppose not only this resolution, but all the resolutions which the right honourable gentleman has read to you.'

Lord Edward was not at the time of this debate, nor for a long time after, a United Irishman. The latter end of October 1792 he visited Paris. His first letter to his mother from that city is dated October 20, and therein he gives an account of an intimate acquaintance with a man of unenviable notoriety, Thomas Paine.

This acquaintance of Lord Edward with Paine was a most disastrous one, there is reason to believe; for in the course of less than three weeks from the date of the above intimation, the London papers copied from the French journals, dated November 10, an announcement which led to Lord Edward's being cashiered:

'Paris, November 19.

'Yesterday the English arrived in Paris, assembled at White's hotel, to celebrate the triumph of victories gained over their late invaders by the armies of France. Though the festival was intended to be purely British, the meeting was attended by citizens of various countries, by deputies of the Convention, by generals, and other officers of the armies then stationed or visiting Paris. J. H. Stone in the chair.

'Among the toasts were "The armies of France: may the example of its citizen soldiers be followed

by all enslaved countries, till tyrants and tyranny be extinct."

'An address was proposed to the National Convention. Among several toasts proposed by the citizens Sir R. Smith and Lord E. Fitzgerald was the following: "May the patriotic airs of the German Legion (*Ça Ira*, the *Carmagnole*, the *Marseillaise*, &c.) soon become the favourite music of every army, and may the soldier and citizen join in the chorus." General Dillon proposed "The People of Ireland; and may Government profit by the example of France, and reform prevent revolution." Sir Robert Smith and Lord E. Fitzgerald renounced their titles; and a toast proposed by the former was drunk: "The speedy abolition of hereditary titles and feudal distinctions."'

The dismissal of Lord Edward from the army preceded his marriage on December 21, 1792. Mr. Fox called attention, in the House of Commons, 'to certain dismissals which had taken place in the army—those of Lord Semple, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and also Captain Gawler.' Of his near relative, Lord Edward, Fox observed: 'He would say, from his personal knowledge, that the service did not possess a more zealous, meritorious, or promising member. He had served his country in actual service, and had bled for it.'

The first intimation of an acquaintance being made with Madame de Genlis on the part of Lord

Edward is in a letter from Paris, wherein he states that he is to dine that day with Madame Sillery.

The Comtesse de Genlis, in her work, 'Précis de conduite de Madame de Genlis depuis la Révolution,' refers to the marriage of Pamela with Lord Edward in the following terms :—

'We arrived at Tournay in the beginning of December, 1792. Three weeks after, I had the happiness to marry my *adopted* daughter, the angelic Pamela, to Lord Edward Fitzgerald.' This event she designates as a recompense of 'the best action of her life,' namely, the adoption of an 'incomparable child, which Providence had cast into her arms,' and the development of that child's reason and intelligence, and those virtues of hers which then rendered her 'the model of the wives and mothers of her age.'

History of Pamela.

The question of the relation in which Madame de Genlis stood to Lady Edward Fitzgerald is a mystery which time has not wholly solved, but which it is possible to form a tolerably clear idea of, after a close acquaintance with the vague and conflicting statements of Madame de Genlis in regard to it, and with the views of those who were the impugners of those statements, and of some who had an intimate knowledge of the person whom Madame de Genlis thought proper to represent as her *élève*. But before the ques-

tion of that relation is considered, it is necessary to glance at the early history of Madame de Genlis, and her subsequent career in the household of the Duc d'Orléans ; for these data cannot be ignored by anyone who desires to be enabled to form a just or reasonable opinion on the subject of that relation. Madame de Genlis's character and position in the household of the Duke of Orleans, Louis-Philippe-Joseph, who adopted the name of Philippe Egalité in 1792, may be best learned from her own writings, 'Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des 18^{me} et 19^{me} siècles.'

Madame de Genlis tells us she was born in 1746, in Burgundy, near Autun, of parents in a respectable position, possessing landed property and a château, and, by purchase, a title to nobility. She was conducted to Lyons when she was about the age of six years, and placed in the convent of ladies of noble origin.

At the age of fourteen or fifteen she accompanied her mother to Paris, and after a short residence there, mother and daughter took up a fixed abode at Passy, where they lived *en grand train*, and in a round of gaieties, while the father of the happy family at Passy was trying to retrieve his embarrassed affairs in Burgundy, and at length was obliged to go to St. Domingo to seek to repair his fortune.

After a few years' sojourn in that island he returned to Europe. The vessel he embarked in was taken by the English ; he was conveyed to Launceston as a prisoner of war, and with him the lieutenant of the

vessel in which he was captured, Monsieur de Genlis, subsequently Comte de Genlis and Marquess de Sillery, an officer of distinguished bravery. M. de Genlis had frequent opportunities of seeing his fellow-prisoner's letters from his daughter, and likewise a portrait of her, which he admired exceedingly.

Having obtained his liberty before his companion and fellow-prisoner, he returned to France, and soon having an opportunity of seeing the original of that portrait, there was nothing left for him but to fall desperately in love with the young lady, and to marry her in due time, her family being then in the most straitened circumstances. Her father (on his liberation from an English prison and return to his own country) had become an inmate of a prison in Paris for debt, from which he only came out to die with his family. It was after his death in 1764 that the Comte de Genlis paid his addresses to his daughter and was accepted by her, the Count being then under an engagement of marriage contracted for him by a minister of the Crown with his full consent.

The marriage was a secret one, and was performed at midnight. The friends of the Count were so much displeased at this alliance, they refused for a long time to visit him or to recognise his lady. The issue of that marriage was a daughter, Caroline, born in 1765. A second daughter, Pulcherie, born in 1766, married General Dalence about 1784 ; and, lastly, a son, who died in childhood about 1775.

Madame de Genlis was presented at the court of

Louis XV., and was graciously received by the King and several members of the royal family; and with this presentation commenced the relations with the Orleans family which had so great an influence on her future life. From the time of her marriage to the period of her presentation at court, we read in the memoirs of nothing but balls and festivities, and preparations for private theatricals, and performances of comedies and operas, in which the Countess always took a leading part. She performed frequently before the royal family.

In 1770 the Countess, after many solicitations on the part of the Duke to accept a situation in the household of the Duke of Chartres, then recently married and established in the Palais Royal, at length consented. When Madame de Genlis entered the Palais Royal as *dame d'honneur* to the Duchesse de Chartres, she was in her twenty-fourth year. Her position was anomalous in the extreme. She was suspected by the whole court of the Palais Royal to be the mistress of the Duke. She was placed near the person of the Duchess, she was the secretary of the Duchess, wrote all her letters, and eventually obtained the office of *gouvernante* of the male children of the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, and of the young Princess Adelaide, which offices she filled for nearly fifteen years.

Referring to this period of her career, the name of Pamela is thus first introduced in the 'Mémoires' of Madame de Genlis :—

'It is true that, to perfect my *élèves* in the habit of speaking foreign languages, I conceived the idea of placing along with them a little English girl nearly their own age. A little girl who was then residing in Paris was first brought to me; but I found her so disagreeable that I did not wish to keep her. Then Monsieur le Duc de Chartres wrote to London, and charged a person he was acquainted with, Mons. Forth, to send him a pretty little English girl of five or six years of age, after having her inoculated. This commission was a little long in executing, as Mr. Forth had at first selected one, but on examination by doctors it was found that she had a tendency to scrofula. A month afterwards he found another, whom he had inoculated, whom he confided to a horse dealer named St. Denis, who had been charged by the Duc de Chartres to purchase for him a fine English horse.'

He announced to Monsieur le Duc the execution of the commission in these terms: 'I have the honour to send to your most Serene Highness the handsomest mare and the prettiest girl in England.' The next reference to Pamela in the memoirs is in connection with occurrences which took place in December 1792.

Pamela was the daughter of a gentleman of good family named Seymour, who had married, against the consent of his family, a person of the lowest condition named Mary Syms, and took her to Newfoundland,

to a place called Fogo. There Pamela was born, and was named Nancy.

'Her father died, and the mother returned to England with her child, then eighteen months old. As her husband was disinherited, she was reduced to great misery, and forced to work for her bread. She had settled at Christchurch, which place Mr. Forth passed through four years after, and, being commissioned by the Duke of Orleans to send us a young English girl, he saw this girl, and obtained her from her mother. When I began to be really attached to Pamela I was very uneasy lest her mother might be desirous of claiming her by legal process; that is, lest she might threaten me with doing so, to obtain grants of money it would have been out of my power to give. I consulted several English lawyers on the subject, and they told me that the only means of protecting myself from this species of persecution was to get the mother to give me her daughter as an apprentice, for the sum of twenty-five guineas. She agreed, and, according to the usual forms, appeared in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield. She there signed an agreement by which she gave me her daughter as an apprentice till she came of age, and could not claim her from me till she paid all the expenses I had been at for her maintenance and education; and to this paper Lord Mansfield put his name and seal, as Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench.'

In 1788, Madame de Genlis determined to make

un petit voyage en Angleterre, for which *petit voyage* no reasons are assigned in the memoirs, except that 'she had always a passionate desire for a little journey to England.' And this was the only occasion, she states, in which she had ever separated herself from her *élèves* during their education, and it was only for six weeks.

She received the most flattering attentions, she states, from the most celebrated persons of England; among others, from Messrs. Fox, Sheridan, Burke, *Lord Mansfield*, &c.; with all of whom she had never any previous acquaintance. But not one word is said in this account of the journey, and her intimacy with the chief justice, of the legal proceeding before Lord Mansfield, in virtue of which Pamela became an apprentice of Madame de Genlis. All the details given by Madame de Genlis of the origin of Pamela, I believe to be mere fictions, and such they were considered by Pamela and those most intimately acquainted with her.

Pamela was not the only '*child by adoption*' of Madame de Genlis.

In April 1776 we are told by madame that she was ordered by her physician, after a serious illness, to try the mineral waters of Spa; and, as her husband could not accompany her, she proceeded to Spa attended by an elderly officer, a friend of her husband, 'un homme en qui il avait toute confiance.'

There, after a sojourn of nearly four months, she applied for a renewal of her leave of absence, to make

a tour in Switzerland. She returned to Paris in the autumn of 1776, after an absence of five months and a half.

If a statement of Pamela to a friend of hers, Madame la Baronne d'E., be correct, that she was four years younger than Madame de Genlis made her out, she must have been born in 1777. The inference, then, about Madame de Genlis's motive for the journey to Spa would fall to the ground : if she had stated three years instead of four, we should then have the date of her birth and that of the journey of Madame de Genlis to Spa the same year, namely, 1776, and consequently Pamela would have been sixteen years of age, and not nineteen, when she was married.

The time of Madame de Genlis's journey to Spa in 1776, and the date of the birth of Pamela, if separated at all, I believe can only be so by an interval of some months.

Pamela was born, according to Madame de Genlis's account, in 1773, being about nineteen in October 1792, as she is described in the marriage contract.

But on authority which is entitled to the fullest reliance, that of the intimate and confidential friend of Pamela for many years, and who continued to be so up to the period of her death—Madame la Baronne d'E.—I am enabled to state that Pamela on many occasions referred to Madame de Genlis's account of her age as a misstatement. Pamela's account, most

probably, approached nearest to the truth. It is necessary, however, to reduce the four years, of which she speaks, to three years, to make her account consistent with many concurrent circumstances which suffice to fix the date of her birth at 1776, instead of 1773, as Madame de Genlis would have it, and to establish the fact that, at the period of her marriage, in the latter part of 1792, she was only sixteen years of age, and not nineteen, as Madame de Genlis made her out.

The kind of education given to Pamela by Madame de Genlis was better calculated to qualify her for the stage than for the position in society that might be desired for her.

Madame de Genlis makes mention of a performance of her *élève*, Pamela; then, about the year 1785, Madame de Genlis gives a portrait of the young Pamela, who, she says, 'was extremely handsome; candour and sensibility were the chief traits in her character; she never told a falsehood, or employed the slightest deceit, during the whole course of her education; she was spiritual from sentiment; her conversation was most agreeable, and always emanated from the heart. I was passionately fond of her, and that fondness has in some respects proved unfortunate. This charming child was the most idle I ever knew; she had no memory—she was very wild, which even added to the grace of her figure, as it gave her an air of vivacity, which, joined to her natural indolence and to a great deal of wit, made her very engaging.

'Her figure was fine and light; she flew like Atalante; and her mind was idle to the greatest degree; thus was she in after life a person the least capable of reflection. Her lot brought her afterwards into the most extraordinary situations; she was without a guide or a counsellor on a thousand dangerous occasions, but, nevertheless, conducted herself extremely well as long as her husband was living, and even, in many difficult circumstances, in a manner truly heroic.'

In July 1789 the French Revolution broke out, and an occurrence took place a little later, we are told in the memoirs, which caused Madame de Genlis to desire to make a second *petit voyage en Angleterre;* but this was not gratified until October 11, 1791, when the Duchesse d'Orléans had insisted on Madame de Genlis's expulsion from Belle-Chasse.

The occurrence to which Madame de Genlis refers is remarkable. At the age of little more than fourteen years, we find Pamela already made practically acquainted with the terrors of a revolution, menaced with death and imprisoned during a whole night by a furious rabble.

The following is the account given in Madame de Genlis's memoirs of this early experience of the horrors of a revolution, in 1790:

'The Comte de Beaujolais, my niece, Henriette de Sercey, Pamela, and I, went to visit a country house, six leagues from Paris.

'We passed by the Colombe.

'Unfortunately it was a market-day. There were assembled in the village a multitude of people from the neighbouring parts. As we traversed the village, the people crowded round our carriage, imagining that I was the queen, accompanied by Madame (her daughter) and the Dauphin, who had fled from Paris. They arrested us, obliged us to descend from the carriage, on which they seized, as well as on the coachman and our attendants. In this state of tumult, the commandant of the National Guard, a young man of very good family, Monsieur Baudry, came to our succour, harangued the people, whom he could not dissuade, however; but he managed to gain their permission to conduct us into his house, which was quite close, undertaking to keep us prisoners till full satisfaction was given by us.

'Through an immense multitude we were led into his house, and during this short passage we heard a great number of voices and of furious cries that we must be brought to the lamp-posts—*à la lanterne.* Finally we were taken into the house; but a quarter of an hour had not elapsed before a multitude of four thousand people besieged the doors, burst them open, and rushed into the house with a terrible tumult. M. Baudry acted with much courage and humanity, and made all the efforts in his power to calm the populace.'

The conclusion may be told in fewer words than Madame de Genlis has employed to relate it. After a long debate the proposition was accepted. A man

was despatched to Paris to make the necessary inquiries of the authorities. A guard was set over the house, the populace continued to besiege it, and during that frightful night until five o'clock the following morning the tumult continued, and drunkenness lent additional horrors to it. At that hour of the morning the messenger returned with an order from the municipality to allow the party to proceed without molestation, and that order was obeyed. But, however calm and composed Madame de Genlis may have been, we may easily conceive what the terror must have been of her young *élèves*, of M. le Comte de Beaujolais, Mademoiselle d'Orléans, Henriette de Sercey, the niece of Madame de Genlis, and the young Pamela.

This incident in the French Reign of Terror was an introduction for her to another reign of terror, the events of which it was her unfortunate destiny to be familiarised with in Ireland.

It was in the spring of 1791 that the poor Duchesse d'Orléans made the desperate effort, previously referred to, to separate her children from Madame de Genlis, and to induce the latter to resign her office of governess. The conduct of Madame de Genlis on this occasion was infamous: she refused to resign her office or to restore the children of the Duchess. She wrote letters of complaint to the husband against the wife; she had the audacity even to demand of the husband his interference with the wife, and to call for an apology from the injured

lady. But the Duchess, at length assuming the authority of her position, demanded of Madame de Genlis her immediate departure and resignation of her office, on pain of a public exposure of her conduct; and then only, and not till then, Madame de Genlis reluctantly abandoned her office of governess, and removed from Paris. But the triumph of the virtuous and excellent woman, the Duchess of Orleans, was of short duration. The artful, intriguing, ever-plotting, never-tiring concocter of schemes and stratagems, was recalled to Paris by the Duke not long before his arrest, brought back to Belle-Chasse, reinstated in her office, and sent to England in charge of the eldest daughter of the Duke of Orleans, her former *élève*, Madame Adelaide.

During the sojourn of Madame de Genlis in England in 1792, with her *élève* the Princesse Adelaide d'Orléans and her reputed daughter Pamela, she formed an acquaintance that became of a very intimate nature with the celebrated Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

When the importunities of the Duc d'Orléans could no longer be resisted for his daughter's return to France, in order to avoid the penalty of the impending project of a law against all French subjects residing in foreign countries without the sanction of the Government, Madame de Genlis very reluctantly prepared for her departure, and at length tore herself and her young *élèves* away from the charming society of Mr. Sheridan, which, it appears, they had enjoyed

a good deal of in the autumn of 1792. They set out for Dover, but they had to pass, we learn from Madame de Genlis, through a town called Dartford, and the thought of the dreadful dangers three unprotected ladies in a foreign land would be exposed to, at the moment of starting even, filled the soul of Madame la Gouvernante with terrors, and long subsequently filled many pages of her memoirs with a most romantic account of the perfidy of a postillion and the perils resulting therefrom, having been purposely taken by a wrong road to a considerable distance from the proper route, evidently with some mysterious and sinister design on the part of the postillion. At length, however, owing to a great display of courage on the part of madame, and the happy interference of some country people whom she had appealed to, the perfidious postillion was induced by divers menaces of prosecution to return to London, the place from which they had fruitlessly set out several hours previously for Dover. They no sooner reached London than madame drove directly to the place of abode of Mr. Sheridan, and there the lady and her *élèves* found a hospitable asylum, and continued in the enjoyment of it for about one month.

A couple of days before Madame la Gouvernante took her departure with her *élèves*, from the 'hospitable house of Mr. Sheridan,' madame tells us it became manifest that Sheridan, 'cet homme si célèbre par son esprit et ses talents, l'un des plus aimables que j'ai connus,' was 'passionately in love with

Pamela.' . . . 'Two days,' adds Madame de Genlis, 'before we set out, Mr. Sheridan made in my presence his declaration of love to Pamela, who was affected by his agreeable manner and high character, and accepted the offer of his hand with pleasure. In consequence of this, it was settled that he was to marry her on our return from France, which was expected to take place in a fortnight.'

It is hardly necessary to make any comment on the effect that Madame de Genlis's statement cannot fail to make on the minds of all right-thinking persons, respecting her assent to the acceptance of Lord Edward Fitzgerald for Pamela, certainly within the period of a week from the time of sanctioning Sheridan's proposal for her, her conduct in regard to the marriage of the betrothed girl to the young Irish nobleman, whom she had casually met at a theatre in Paris for the first time, and by whom she must have been proposed for the same night, for on the following day they set out for Tournay, and were joined at the first post by the accepted lover, Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

The first mention of the name of Lord Edward Fitzgerald in connection with that of Pamela, in the memoirs of the Comtesse de Genlis, is in these terms, under date October 1792, referring to her sojourn at the house of Mr. Sheridan, at Isleworth: 'Mr. Sheridan was naturally amiable, was particularly kind to us; having fallen desperately in love with Pamela, and being a widower, he was most anxious to marry her.

His wife, who had died young, was one of the handsomest and most charming women in England, and Pamela was strikingly like her. Mrs. Sheridan had lived very happily with her husband, till she became acquainted with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who fell violently in love with her, which sentiment she fully reciprocated. The remorse which she felt brought her to the grave.'

Madame de Genlis's foul slander on the character of Sheridan's first wife is quite in keeping with the habitual malevolence of that unprincipled woman.

There is no truth in the statement of the separation of Mr. and Mrs. Sheridan. Mrs. Sheridan was assiduously attended during her last illness by her husband. She had had much cause of complaint at various times, of neglect and estranged affections on the part of her husband, and Sheridan played the part of a jealous lover and an injured husband on such occasions when he found his beautiful wife the object of admiration in society, and probably affecting to court it. During the sojourn of Madame de Genlis in England, while on a visit to Sheridan's house at Isleworth, Lord Edward Fitzgerald was afforded more than once an opportunity of seeing Madame de Genlis, but he did not avail himself of it, having a horror of learned ladies: but Lord Edward had no horror of pretty women; and it appears he had heard a great deal of the beauty and accomplishments of Pamela, the young *élève* of the formidable learned lady. Madame de Genlis and her two *élèves* set out for Paris

on October 20, accompanied as far as Dover by Mr. Sheridan. But the young nobleman, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who, if the preceding statements are to be relied on, had an unhappy influence on Sheridan's domestic happiness, was destined to become the husband, in a few days, of the young lady whom he considered engaged to him. Lord Edward was then residing in the French metropolis. Madame de Genlis had evidently been making inquiries into Sheridan's circumstances, for she states that he was a good deal embarrassed; and when we find the young Irish lord, a little later, had made Pamela's acquaintance in Paris, and that such extraordinary despatch had marked each successive step of the acquaintance—the courtship, the legalising of *actes*, and the wedding—we are in a better position to estimate Madame de Genlis's conduct in this business. Poor Sheridan, at parting with the ladies at Dover, shed tears, and Madame de Genlis 'separated from him *avec attendrissement.*'

Immediately after Madame de Genlis's return to Paris from England, the Revolution being then at its height, the Countess was ordered by the Duke of Orleans to conduct his daughter to Flanders. 'That same evening,' says the Countess, 'M. de Sillery, to dissipate our wearied spirits, took us to the theatre to a private box of his own. They performed *Lodoiska.* An Englishman, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, was at this play; he of whom I have already spoken, and who was so enamoured of Mrs. Sheridan. The

resemblance of Pamela to the person whose death he so bitterly regretted struck him so forcibly, that he became passionately in love with Pamela; he caused himself to be introduced to our box by an Englishman of our acquaintance, Mr. Stone. The next morning we went to Raincy; it was decided that we should take our departure the following day for Tournay.'

The following day they set out for Flanders. 'We found,' says Madame de Genlis, 'Lord Edward, whose love for Pamela had been the cause of his following us to Tournay. No sooner had we arrived at Tournay, than he demanded of me Pamela in marriage. I showed him the papers which furnished proof of her birth and parentage—*qui constataient sa naissance.* When I showed these papers to Lord Edward, I told him that, having given in my resignaton as governess to mademoiselle, I had a right on retiring from the situation to a pension of six thousand francs which was attached to this place, and that I intended writing to the Duke of Orleans, to beg that I might be permitted to renounce the pension for myself, and to pray that it might be given over to Pamela, who had on her own account a right to this favour, as having been the companion of the infancy and youthful days of mademoiselle, as well as in consideration of Pamela's proficiency in the English language, which had been useful to the princess's education. Moreover, I felt a great satisfaction, after all the annoyances I had been subject to, in

ridding myself of the pension, and in the recollection that I had educated gratuitously mademoiselle's three brothers. I also told Lord Edward that nothing could make me give him the hand of Pamela in opposition to the wishes of his family, without the written consent of his mother, the Duchess of Leinster ; upon which he assured me he would obtain it. He set out immediately for England, and returned in a few days, bringing me a most charming letter from his mother the Duchess, who gave her consent willingly to the marriage.

'The day after his return the contract was signed, the marriage was solemnised on the spot, and the newly-married couple took their departure the following day for England. This separation made me weep bitterly, although I felt inexpressible joy in insuring in so honourable a manner the future welfare of a child who was so dear to me.'

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CHAPTER IV.

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD[1] (continued).

Arthur O'Connor—Adventure—Negotiations with France—Connection with United Irishmen—Arrests at Bond's—Concealment—The traitor Reynolds—Narrow escape—Capture of Lord Edward—Imprisonment in Newgate—Death—Bill of Attainder—Efforts to reverse it—The Prince Regent.

O'Connor's close intimacy with Lord Edward Fitzgerald led to the introduction of the latter into the Society of the United Irishmen. We find Lord Edward accompanying O'Connor to the North, and residing for some weeks in the vicinity of Belfast, on the occasion of the latter offering himself to the electors of Antrim as a candidate for that county. In 1796, O'Connor was in daily intercourse with Lord Edward at Frescati.

The Parliament which met on October 16, 1796, and ended on July 27, 1797, was the last in which Lord Edward sat. He had been a member of the House of Commons fourteen years, when, despairing of effecting any beneficial object for his country in it, he determined to retire from parliamentary life.

[1] The desire to keep as close as possible to Dr. Madden's report has in many cases been abandoned, in consequence of endless iteration and irrelevant matter. This is notably so in the lives of Rowan and Lord Edward. The silk purse from the well-known bristly material is mild in comparison.—Ed.

Grattan, O'Connor, and Lord Edward, in 1797, appear to have been actuated by the same motives which led Fox, in the previous year, the leader of the Opposition in England, to secede from Parliament, wearied and dispirited, and worn out with fruitless efforts to stem the torrent of rampant despotism and antagonism of every kind.

Grattan, Duquerry, Ponsonby, and Sir Lawrence Parsons eschewed all overt acts of sedition and high treason. They considered it was unparliamentary for members to 'unthread the rude eye of rebellion.' It was only permissible for them to rouse the slumbering people, and stimulate their leaders by their eloquent invectives against Government; to speak of swords and daggers, and of the headsman's axe for bad rulers, but in a parliamentary, metaphorical sense only; to make the people believe they were really in earnest with regard to the use of the formidable weapons of which they spoke, and were ready to do and die in defence of their country, when the fitting occasion came.

The Government people denounced the Opposition in 1797 as covert traitors; and the Opposition, dealing with the Government party's outrages upon them, retaliated in equally violent language on the Tories. If either faction could have possibly so decried and discredited the other party as to make it safe and facile to hang their opponents, they would apparently have done so with the greatest alacrity.

But there was more of downright earnestness in

the violent, vindictive language of the Clares, Beresfords, and Castlereaghs, than in the flowers of patriotic eloquence and flights of indignant oratory in support of the cause of reform, and in the denunciations of the borough-mongers. However, the language of the Whig leaders was sufficiently explicit.

In 1797, an occurrence took place on the Curragh of Kildare, which placed a party of military gentlemen—some ten or twelve dragoon officers—in a ridiculous position, and displayed the character of Lord Edward, and that peculiar quality of high courage, self-command, and consciousness of power which distinguished him in all emergencies of danger, or difficulties of any kind.

Lord Edward and his friend Arthur O'Connor were riding home at the conclusion of the Curragh races, and had not proceeded very far from the stand when the party above mentioned of dragoon officers galloped after them, whirled round, and intercepted them.

One of the party, desperately ambitious of signalising his valour and his loyalty, commanded Lord Edward to take off his neckerchief, which, being of a green colour, was evidently a seditious necktie.

The poor would-be hero little knew the stuff of which the man was made whom he had unfortunately singled out for his experimental exploit. Lord Edward looked at the gentleman fully in the face calmly and coolly, and said to him in a deliberate

manner, and in that peculiarly quiet tone in which he was wont to speak whenever his mind was made up that a thing of moment was to be done: 'Your cloth would bespeak you to be a gentleman, but this conduct conveys a very different impression. As to this neckcloth that so offends you, all I can say is, here I stand; let any man among you, who dares, come forward and take it off.'

'To make a hazard of new fortunes here,' was clearly too desperate a venture for Lord Edward's military assailants. 'Big Mars seems bankrupt in the *braggart* host.' The bold dragoons, sadly disconcerted, puzzled, looked at each other, doubtful how to proceed, or, to express it more poetically:

> The horsemen sit like fixed candlesticks,
> With torch staves in their hands; and their poor jades
> Lob down their heads, drooping their hides and hips.

In this unpleasant state of things, Mr. O'Connor kindly interposed, and with that remarkable amenity of manner which he could assume better than most men when he had 'something dangerous' in his thoughts, in the most bland and gentlemanly way observed, if the officer chose to appoint two of their number, his friend Lord Edward and himself would be found in Kildare in readiness to receive any communication from them.

This polite intimation had the cooling-down effect that might be expected. The ten or twelve Drawcansir dragoons began to reflect on their folly. The

parties separated. The expected challenge was awaited two days, but it did not come.

Thus, on many similar occasions was a noble profession disgraced, and its service hurt, by the relaxation of all discipline in that reign of terror, which the gallant Abercrombie denounced and refused to sanction with his sword.

The military organisation of the United Irishmen, which originated in Ulster, was adopted in Leinster towards the end of 1796. By the new organisation, the civil officers received military titles ; the secretary of each society of twelve was called the petty officer ; each delegate of five societies a captain, having sixty men under his command ; and the delegate of ten lower baronial societies was usually the colonel, each battalion being composed of six hundred men. The colonels of each county sent in the names of three persons to the Directory, one of whom was appointed by it adjutant-general of the county, who communicated directly with the executive. In May 1796, Lord Edward proceeded on his first treasonable mission to the Continent, to be joined there or in London by Arthur O'Connor.

Lord Edward, with the view of keeping up appearances of private objects for his continental journey, was accompanied by Lady Edward Fitzgerald. From London he went to Hamburg, and was soon in treaty with Reinhart, the French minister at that place, having been joined there by Arthur O'Connor. The negotiations were broken off, no one appeared to

know why or wherefore. Reinhart was suspected of being a traitor to his Government, and not without good reason, as that gentleman's letters to his Government, addressed to Charles de Lacroix, of which copies were duly furnished to the English Government through their consular agent at Hamburg, would seem to prove. O'Connor and Fitzgerald discontinued their negotiations with that minister, quitted Hamburg, and proceeded to Basle. In opening these negotiations with the French Directory through the medium of M. Barthelemi, and in tumbling into the hands of this slippery ecclesiastic, of whose integrity they had no suspicion, they at once placed the secret of their mission in the sympathising bosom of Mr. William Pitt, and revealed their negotiations with the French Directory. An arrangement was entered into at Basle for effecting a communication with General Hoche (duly sanctioned by the Directory), who was then preparing for the command of the expedition to Ireland, which Tone's exertions had been the means of setting on foot. *It was represented to Lord Edward* at Basle that Hoche would only communicate with one negotiator, and that O'Connor alone would be permitted to see the general ; eventually, however, that objection was overruled. Accordingly, O'Connor and Lord Edward entered the French territory, and after a conference with Hoche, Lord Edward returned to Hamburg. On his journey from Basle to Hamburg, he had for a *compagnon de voyage* a spy of the British Govern-

ment, a foreign lady, a former mistress of a colleague of Mr. Pitt, but still in the habit of corresponding with her old *entreteneur*, an intimate friend of the prime minister. In the spring of 1797, Mr. Edward J. Lewines was sent to France by the Leinster Directory, and he proceeded to Paris, and took up his abode there as the resident representative of the Irish nation, duly accredited to the French Republic. In the month of May 1797, Lord Edward Fitzgerald was sent by the Directory to London, to meet an emissary of the French Government, who had been sent over to procure information as to the exact state of preparation throughout the country for a general rising ; and only a month later, the Leinster Directory were so importuned with urgent demands for the sanction of the executive for taking the field, that Dr. McNeven was despatched on a special mission, for the purpose of urging on the French Government the necessity of immediate co-operation.

A military committee was appointed in February 1798 ; its duty was to prepare a plan of co-operation with the French when they should land, or of insurrection, in case they should be forced to it before the arrival of the French, a step which the Directory was determined if possible to avoid.

In reply to my inquiries concerning the negotiations between the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen and the French Government, O'Connor said :—' Before General O'Connor negotiated, in 1796, the treaty for the United Irish with the agent of the

French Directory, of which General Hoche's expedition was the result, there never had been any other treaty before that with France. In 1796 he and Lord Edward had an interview with Hoche on the French frontier, and subsequently negotiations were entered into with Buonaparte. Buonaparte had a true intention to invade England, and had an army of 20,000 men in readiness for it, when the intelligence of the new designs of Austria and Russia caused that intention to be given up.'

The above statement of O'Connor is calculated to make an impression utterly at variance with facts respecting the earnestness of the meditated design of the French Government of invading England in 1798—an impression, however, which O'Connor had no idea of making. He speaks, be it observed, of an army of 20,000 men in readiness for the invasion, under the command of Buonaparte. But Buonaparte was only one of eleven generals who were to have commanded *corps d'armée* in that expedition—the first on the list and chief in command.

The enormous armament ordered for that expedition far exceeded 200,000 men. Though a national committee was a part of the plan of the original organisation, the election of national delegates did not take place till the beginning of December 1797, and then only partially. With respect to the total number of armed men in the union throughout the country, as estimated by Lord Edward Fitzgerald,

when a rising was eventually determined on in the month of March 1798, the particulars are specified in a document presented by Lord Edward to Mr. Thomas Reynolds, the informer.

By this document it would appear that the total number of armed men throughout the country was estimated by Lord Edward at 279,896. It will be found, however, that there is an error of 12,600 in the total of the returns of the armed men of the several counties; it should be 267,296, instead of 279,896. But from another source, and one whose authenticity is unquestionable, the writer has reason to know that Lord Edward imagined that, when once he had raised the standard of revolt, 100,000 effective men might be immediately expected to rally round it.

I have elsewhere referred to a very remarkable meeting which took place at the Shakespeare Gallery, Exchequer Street, about a month before the arrests in March, when Lord Edward specially requested his confidential friend, W. M., my informant, to attend a conference with the delegates from the different counties respecting the projected rising. The account of the discussion which ensued on that occasion was taken down by me in writing, I may say from the lips of W. M., the same night on which it was related to me. To that portion of his statement which has reference to Lord Edward's views and his own on the subject of the contemplated rising in April 1798,

I shall only recur in this memoir of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

Lord Edward having expressed his opinion that in the existing circumstances of the country the time for action had come, that no foreign aid was then to be expected, and that even without it the chances of success were greatly in favour of the attempt, and having produced returns of the force to be relied on, he said: 'Here are returns that show that 100,000 armed men may be counted on to take the field.'

'My Lord,' replied his friend, 'it is one thing to have 100,000 men on paper, and another in the field. A hundred thousand men on paper will not furnish 50,000 in array. I, for one, am enrolled amongst the number; but I candidly tell you, you will not find me in your ranks. You know for what objects we joined this Union, and what means we reckoned on for carrying them into effect. Fifteen thousand Frenchmen were considered essential to our undertaking. If they were so at that time, still more so are they now, when our warlike aspect has caused the Government to pour troops into the country.'

'What!' said Lord Edward, 'would you attempt nothing without these 15,000 men—would you not be satisfied with 10,000?'

'I would, my Lord,' replied his friend, 'if the aid of the fifteen thousand could not be procured.'

'But,' continued Lord Edward, 'even if the ten could not be procured, what would you do then?'

'I would then accept of five, my Lord,' was the reply.

'But,' said Lord Edward, fixing his eyes with great earnestness on him, 'we cannot get 5,000, and, with respect to the larger force we originally wished for, had we succeeded with so large a body of French troops, we might have found it difficult enough to get rid of our allies.'

To this it was replied, 'My Lord, if we found it possible to get rid of our enemies, who are more than ten times as numerous as our allies, we could have little difficulty in getting rid of the latter when necessity required it.'

'But I tell you we cannot,' said Lord Edward, 'get even the 5,000 you speak of, and when you know that we cannot, will you desert our cause?'

'My Lord,' said W. M., 'if 5,000 men could not be obtained, I would seek the assistance of a sufficient number of French officers to lead our people; and with three hundred of these, perhaps we might be justified in making an effort for independence, but not without them. What military men have we of our own to lead our unfortunate people against a disciplined army?'

Lord Edward ridiculed the idea of there being anything like discipline in the English army. 'Besides, the numbers,' he said, 'of the United Irishmen would more than counterbalance any superiority in the discipline of their enemies.'

'My Lord,' said his friend, 'we must not be de-

ceived. They are disciplined, and our people are not. If the latter are repulsed and broken, who is to reform their lines? Once thrown into disorder, the greater their numbers, the greater will be the havoc made amongst them.'

Lord Edward said, 'without risking a general engagement, he would be able to get possession of Dublin.'

'Suppose you did, my Lord,' was the reply, the possession of the capital would not insure success. . . . You, my Lord, are the only military man amongst us; but you cannot be everywhere you are required; and the misfortune is, you delegate your authority to those whom you think are like yourself. But they are not like you; we have no such persons amongst us.'

The delegates assented to the justice of these remarks, declaring that the proposal for the aid of the French officers was a reasonable one, when Lord Edward impatiently reminded them that they had no assistance to expect from France, and that consequently the determination had been come to to prepare the country for an immediate rising. The conference terminated in divided opinions.

Lord Edward and his friend, nevertheless, parted with the same cordiality and confidence in each other that had always subsisted between them.

A very short time subsequently to the arrests at Bond's, it was known in England to one of the Leinster family, who appears to have had access to

the Duke of Portland and a confidential knowledge of his views, that Lord Edward's escape would probably be connived at; and even previous to the arrests of March 12, when Mr. Ogilvie had an interview with Lord Clare, in reference to the reported connection of Lord Edward with the Society of United Irishmen, of which Government was then informed, Lord Clare, with manifest earnestness and warmth of feeling, said: 'For God's sake, get this young man out of the country; the ports shall be thrown open to you, and no hindrance whatever offered.'

All Mr. Ogilvie's subsequent efforts to move Lord Edward to avail himself of this generous and indulgent disposition of the Government were in vain. Lord Edward's last reply to his friend's pressing solicitation to abandon his connection with the cause he had embarked in, and to retire from the country for some time, was conclusive. 'It is now out of the question; I am too deeply pledged to these men to be able to withdraw with honour.'

Immediately previous to the arrests at Bond's, Lord Edward and his wife were sojourning at Leinster House, in Kildare Street. Search was made for him there in vain. Timely notice had been given to Lady Edward if she had desired to destroy any papers of Lord Edward's of a dangerous nature; but either her presence of mind forsook her, or she had no knowledge of any documents of a seditious character, which were sufficient to place his life in jeopardy.

From the time of the arrests in Bond's—namely, March 12, 1798—Lord Edward was 'on his keeping,' as the term is, avoiding arrest by frequent changes of domicile. The earliest place of his concealment was in a small house at Harold's Cross, near John Keogh's residence at Mount Jerome.

Lord Edward next appears to have taken up his abode at Dr. Kennedy's, in Aungier Street, and while there he was constantly visited by Mr. William Lawless, professor of anatomy and physiology in the College of Surgeons.

He was visited there also by *Mr. Thomas Reynolds*, who had been known to Lord Edward and trusted by him ; and there appears no reason to doubt that the same confidence was still placed in him during the whole term of the concealment of Lord Edward.

There was a sort of casuistry in all the reasoning of Reynolds in regard to his conduct as an informer, which was had recourse to, no doubt, originally to impose on others, but which merged into a systematic cajolery that eventually deluded himself.

I do not believe that Reynolds gave the information to the Government which procured for the informer 1,000*l.* for the discovery of Lord Edward.

Reynolds had a kind of regard and respect for Lord Edward ; for we find even the greatest villains frequently manifest an involuntary appreciation of very exalted heroism or virtue. They feel as if they were compelled, in spite of themselves, to reverence great and generous qualities like those which Lord Edward

possessed. But though Reynolds, probably, would not denounce him himself, nor think it decent to sell a man's blood, from whom *it was known* he had received great and substantial acts of kindness, Reynolds could have reconciled it to his very peculiarly constituted mind and perverted moral sense to put an acquaintance in the way of doing a stroke of business, and to enable his *protégé* to pocket 1,000*l.* for a little bit of information concerning Lord Edward's hiding-place. Lord Edward was removed, disguised, from Harold's Cross on the Thursday after the arrests at Bond's, to the house of a widow lady of the name of Dillon, an acquaintance of Surgeon Lawless, residing close to the canal at Portobello Bridge, but a little to the westward of the hotel. The principal entrance to the house, which still exists, is by a street at the rear of the Portobello Hotel. Lord Edward, while he resided at this place of concealment, visited Lady Fitzgerald, who was then residing in Denzille Street with her children, attended by a female servant of hers, and her husband's valet, the 'faithful Tony.'

We hear nothing of Tony seeing his master during this night's visit to Denzille Street; but we may take it for granted the faithful servant and the kind and loving master, whose knowledge of one another was now nearly of fifteen years' standing, met on that occasion, and that well-known black face, which his master, in one of his letters from Canada, said was the only one he cared to look on, was once more

beheld by him. Poor Tony was unable to visit his master at any of his subsequent places of concealment. When Mrs. Dillon called one day at Denzille Street to report Lord Edward's safety and well-being, Tony lamented to Mrs. Dillon, 'that his unfortunate face prevented him from going to see his dear master.'

Lord Edward returned the same night to Mrs. Dillon's. He remained about three weeks in that asylum. One of his amusements while there was concocting a juvenile conspiracy with a child he had taken a fancy to, laying out plans to take advantage of the first favourable opportunity of Mrs. Dillon's absence to root up and extirpate a large bed of orange lilies at the bottom of the garden. It was one of the peculiarities of Lord Edward, that in all the trying circumstances of this part of his career, to all those around him, or who came in contact with him, he *appeared* in his usual spirits, *apparently* light-hearted and easily amused.

Lord Edward was next removed to the house of Murphy, the feather merchant, in Thomas Street. His conductor on this occasion was the same Mr. Lawless by whom he had been brought to Mrs. Dillon's at Portobello. He was disguised on the last occasion as a countryman in a long frieze coat, rather incongruously associated, for the purpose of disguise, with a pigtailed wig. He was kindly received on this his first visit to Murphy's, and remained there on that occasion about a fortnight, during which time he held several consultations on the subject of the

intended ensuing insurrection with Lawless, a Mr. Plunkett, styled Major Plunkett, and a Colonel Lumm.

During Lord Edward's first sojourn at Murphy's, he again visited Denzille Street, disguised as a woman. That visit was unexpected by Lady Edward, and a few days subsequently to it, the excitement and anxiety it occasioned led to her premature confinement. Her youngest and second daughter, Emily, was born in Denzille Street in the latter part of April.

The beginning of May, the long looked-for aid from France being at length despaired of, a general rising was determined on, and the time fixed for it was May 23, when Lord Edward was to put himself at the head of the forces of the United Irishmen of Leinster. The vigilance of the authorities from that time necessitated frequent changes of Lord Edward's place of concealment. From Murphy's he was taken to the house of Mr. John Cormick, a feather merchant in the same street, No. 22. There he was visited by the well-known John Hughes. About the middle of May, Lord Edward proceeded with Neilson on horseback to examine the country in the vicinity of Dublin on the borders of Kildare, and on his return he was arrested by a patrol at Palmerstown, and closely examined by them. His companion, Neilson, pretended to be drunk and unconscious of the questions put to him. Lord Edward described himself as a doctor, and his account of himself and the business he was on satisfied the party. They lost an opportunity of

making 1,000*l.*; Lord Edward and Neilson were set at liberty.

On May 17, six days only before the period fixed for the general rising, in an unlucky hour for Lord Edward, he was conducted for the second time to Murphy's house, where it was intended he should remain till the outbreak. The night of his arrival there he proceeded from Murphy's house in the direction of Usher's Island.

The persons who occasionally formed his guard, who visited him, or who accompanied him when he went abroad, were the following:—Surgeon Lawless, Major Plunkett, Colonel Lumm, Samuel Neilson, John Hughes, James Davock, William Cole, Richard Keane, C. Gallagher, Palmer, Rattigan, William P. M'Cabe, and Walter Cox. The night of his *rencontre* with Major Sirr, on May 17, he was attended by W. P. M'Cabe, Patrick Gallagher, Palmer, and Rattigan.

Sirr had received information that Lord Edward's bodyguard, a party selected from their known courage and trustworthiness, for attendance on him when he went abroad, would be on their way from Thomas Street to Usher's Island at a certain hour that night. Accompanied by several of his men, O'Brien, and Mr. Emerson, an attorney, Sirr proceeded to the place where he expected to meet Lord Edward, and divided his party, directing some of them to approach Usher's Island by Watling Street, and others by Dirty Lane.

Lord Edward's party had adopted the same course, and the result was a conflict in both streets between Sirr's people and Lord Edward's party.

In one of these *rencontres* the major was knocked down, and was very nearly losing his life. He defended himself bravely and successfully. The major, however, was only too happy to save himself on this occasion, and to allow his assailants to escape. He has given a brief account of this *rencontre*. One of Lord Edward's band has given another, and from the latter account the following particulars are taken.

When Lord Edward went abroad during the time of his concealment, he was usually preceded by one of his guard, thirty or forty yards in advance, and two men on the opposite side of the way, at some distance from one another. On the present occasion when he was recognised by Sirr, the persons attending him were not seen, and Lord Edward was on the point of being seized, when Sirr found himself in the grasp of two powerful young men. One of them snapped a pistol at Sirr, and the other, Gallagher, struck at his neck with a dagger, and pierced his stock without inflicting any wound. M'Cabe was not present when this scuffle took place. He was at the bottom of Bridgefoot Street, close to Usher's Island, at that moment, watching the movements of the other party, by whom he was at length arrested. Sirr's struggle with Gallagher was one of life and death. Lord Edward, during this struggle, having

got clear of Sirr and his myrmidons, Palmer and Gallagher thought it prudent to decamp, leaving the major little inclined to pursue them. On the following day it was determined by Lord Edward and his friends that he should remove on the next evening from Murphy's to the house of a Mrs. Risk, at Sandymount. The appearance of the soldiers in the morning at Thomas Street caused him to give up the idea of then removing. His arrest the same evening, however, put an end to all his plans ; but his faithful friends even at this trying moment did not desert him. The sedan chair in which he was placed, no sooner moved from Murphy's door, than Major Sirr and his party were assailed by a number of persons, and a desperate but unsuccessful attempt was made to rescue their prisoner. This effort was directed by Edward Rattigan, assisted by Gallagher.. Rattigan was a director of the watch-house of St. Catherine's ; and the moment he received an intimation of Lord Edward's danger, he called on the first people he met to accompany him to the watch-house. He seized on all the arms that were deposited there, and proceeded with all despatch to Murphy's. Major Sirr acknowledged they must have succeeded, had not the Rainsford Street guard and the picket-guard of the Castle, chiefly cavalry, for the assistance of which he had previously sent from Murphy's, opportunely arrived. There can be little doubt but that the person who disclosed the secret of Lord Edward's place of concealment was one then in his confidence, or in that of

the persons about him, who were in the habit of visiting him at Moore's, Cormick's, or Murphy's, or forming what was called his 'body-guard' when he went abroad. From some persons in the confidence of Lord Edward or his friends, Sirr's information was certainly derived, which led to the knowledge of Lord Edward's intended visit to Moira House on Usher's Island, and the fact with regard to Murphy's house, that there was a valley between the two sloping sides of the roof of the adjoining store of that house which required to be particularly looked after. The very moment of Sirr's arrival there, on the evening of May 19, the identical valley where Lord Edward had been concealed only some hours before by his host, Murphy, was pointed out by the major to his assistants, as a place by which escape was likely to be effected.

'In the course of the day (Saturday, May 19),' says Murphy, in his account of the arrest of Lord Edward, 'there was a guard of soldiers, and, I believe, Major Swan, Major Sirr, a Mr. Medlicot, and another, making a search at Mr. Moore's house, the "Yellow Lion," in Thomas Street.[1] A friend came and mentioned the circumstance to me. I immediately mentioned it to Lord Edward, and had him conveyed out of the house and concealed in a valley on the roof of one of the warehouses. While I was doing this, Sam Neilson came and inquired of

[1] Moore had two houses in Thomas Street. The one in which Lord Edward was concealed was No. 119; the other was No. 124.

the girl if I was at home. I believe she said, not. "Bid him be cautious," I think was what she told me he said.

'I considered that conduct of his very ill-timed; however, I am led to believe it was well-intended.

'After placing Lord Edward in the valley on the roof of the warehouse, I came down in a little time and stood at the gate, the soldiers still at Mr. Moore's. I perceived four persons walking in the middle of the street, some of them in uniform; I believe yeomen. I think Major Swan and Captain Medlicot were of the party.

'Towards four o'clock Lord Edward came down to dinner; everything was supposed to be still. Now, at this time Sam Neilson came in to see us. Dinner was nearly ready; I asked him to stay and dine, which he accepted. Nothing particular occurred, except speaking on a variety of subjects, when Mr. Neilson, as if something struck him, immediately went away, leaving us together. There was very little wine taken; Lord Edward was very abstemious. In a short time I went out; and now the tragedy commenced. I wished to leave Lord Edward to himself. I was absent, I suppose, about an hour. I came into the room where we dined, being the back drawing-room; he was not there; I went to the sleeping-room; he was in bed.[1] It was at this time about seven o'clock. I asked him to come down to tea. I was not in the room three

[1] Lord Edward was suffering from a severe cold at this time.

minutes, when in came Major Swan and a person following him, in a soldier's jacket, and a sword in his hand; he wore a round hat. When I saw Major Swan I was thunderstruck. I put myself before him and asked his business. He looked over me and saw Lord Edward in the bed. He pushed by me quickly, and Lord Edward, seeing him, sprung up instantly like a tiger, and drew a dagger which he carried about him, and wounded Major Swan slightly, I believe. Major Swan had a pistol in his waistcoat pocket, which he fired without effect; he immediately turned to me and gave me a severe thrust of the pistol under the eye, at the same time desiring the person that came in with him to take me into custody.

'I was immediately taken away to the yard; there I saw Major Sirr and about six soldiers of the Dumbarton Fencibles.

'Major Swan had thought proper to run as fast as he could to the street, and I think he never looked behind him till he got out of danger, and he was then parading up and down the flags, exhibiting his linen, which was stained with blood. Mr. Ryan supplied Major Swan's place; he came in contact with Lord Edward and was wounded seriously. Major Sirr at that time came upstairs, and, keeping at a respectful distance, fired a pistol at Lord Edward in a very deliberate manner, and wounded him in the upper part of the shoulder. Reinforcements coming in, Lord Edward surrendered after a very hard struggle.'

Lord Edward Fitzgerald was captured, and wounded severely in the right arm near the shoulder, on the evening of May 19, 1798. The pistol-ball wound was the result of the deliberate aim taken by Major Sirr from his secure position on the landing at the top of the stairs in Murphy's house, at his victim, already engaged in a deadly struggle with the two subordinate rebel-hunters, whom Sirr had prudently sent before him to make the perilous capture of a man of known valour—Major Swan and Mr. Ryan (in yeomanry parlance Captain Ryan). At the call of the major, the soldiers had then rushed up the stairs, overpowered Lord Edward, and secured their prey. But the struggles of the wounded man, weltering in his blood, were still so formidable in the opinion of the gallant major, that he was not satisfied with seeing the firelocks of the soldiers flung down across the body of the prostrate captive ; he had the wounded prisoner bound.

Lord Camden, whose lamentable weakness of purpose in all emergencies of importance to the public or the State, want of moral courage, of resolution, and manliness of spirit, approached the character of actual imbecility of mind, and who never did acts of great wrong, of signal injustice of an extremely flagitious kind, except, so we are told in his defence, upon compulsion, or in compliance with the wishes, or in accordance with the counsel of my Lords Clare, Castlereagh, or the Beresfords, felt some emotion when the wounded prisoner of the House of Leinster was

brought to the Castle. He sent his private secretary, Mr. Watson, to Lord Edward, after he had been taken from Murphy's to the office of the Secretary of War, to assure the latter that orders had been given that every possible attention that was compatible with the security of his person would be shown to him, and to acquaint him likewise that the secretary was commissioned to acquaint Lady Edward, with all due care and consideration, with the intelligence of the painful occurrences of that evening. That secretary discharged his duties in a way that might be expected from an English gentleman, not long enough in an Irish office closely connected with Government to have his feelings perverted and turned from their natural direction towards tenderness and kindliness. He bent over Lord Edward, who was leaning back on two chairs with his arm extended, supported by the surgeon-general, Stewart, then in the act of dressing his wound, and took an opportunity of whispering in Lord Edward's ear (unheard by those in the chamber) his readiness to execute any wish of his faithfully and secretly, or communicate any confidential message of his to Lady Edward. The answer given to that kind offer was spoken calmly—'No, no, thank you ; nothing, nothing ; only break it to her tenderly.'

Lady Edward, while the deadly struggle in Murphy's house was going on on the evening of the 19th, was at a party at Lord Moira's, on Usher's Island ; but Mr. Watson, who had proceeded there

after he left Lord Edward, was not suffered by Lady Moira to communicate the intelligence to Lady Edward ; and it was only the following day she was made acquainted with it. She was then in delicate health, and only a few weeks had elapsed since her premature confinement had taken place in Denzille Street, the result of surprise and anxiety, occasioned by the unexpected visit of her husband at her then place of residence in that street.

Four days after Lord Edward's arrest, Neilson was arrested by Gregg, the jailor, in front of Newgate, where he had been reconnoitring the prison, with a view to the liberation of Lord Edward and the other State prisoners ; a large number of men being in readiness to attack the jail, and waiting for Neilson's return, at a place called the Barley Fields.

It was Lord Camden's wish, it is stated in Moore's work, that Lord Edward should not be removed from the Castle, but should be allowed to remain there in safe custody. But the civic authorities, as represented by Sirr, would not consent to give up their prisoner, by whom two of their officers had been wounded ; and the civil authorities, represented by Castlereagh and Clare, concurring with the former, poor Lord Camden, of course, submitted to the will of his masters, having no will of his own ; so Lord Edward was conveyed to Newgate, and placed in a cell which had been occupied by Lord Aldborough. From the commencement of his imprisonment to within a few

hours of his death, all access to him, except on two occasions, on the part of his relatives and friends, was savagely denied and peremptorily refused by Lord Camden.

Not even the old confidential servant of the Leinster family, Shiel, nor the trusty negro servant, 'the faithful Tony,' were allowed to attend on Lord Edward during his sufferings. His favourite brother, Henry, worried the Lord-Lieutenant and Lord Chancellor[1] and the Chief Secretary with entreaties to be permitted to see his dying brother. But it was only when in the agonies of death, and within a few hours of his end, that Lords Camden and Castlereagh could be got to relax in the harshness of their barbarous rigour. Lady Louisa Connolly and Lord Henry Fitzgerald were permitted to visit their dying relative on Sunday evening, June 3, 1798; and the following Monday morning, at two o'clock, the corpse of the gallant, pure-minded, brave-hearted Lord Edward Fitzgerald lay stiff and cold in a cell of Newgate.

On the 26th he made his will; but even in the execution of that instrument no person in any way connected with his lordship's family was suffered to go near him. Even Mr. Leeson, a professional gentleman, who was brought to Newgate to see that

[1] To the first application of Lord Henry Fitzgerald, begging to be permitted to see his brother, Lord Clare replied that he was sorry that it was impossible to comply with his wishes, and he adds: 'If I could explain to you the grounds of this restriction, even you would hardly be induced to condemn it as unnecessarily harsh.'

will executed, and to advise the dying man as to the manner of carrying his last wishes into effect, was not suffered to enter the prison ; he remained seated in a carriage at the door, while the surgeon-general went backwards and forwards from the cell of the prisoner to the carriage outside the jail, communicating between Lord Edward and his legal adviser on matters of such importance to the interests of the wife and children of the testator.

That instrument, by which he left all he died possessed of to his wife, Lady Fitzgerald, during her life, and at her death to descend, share and share alike, to his children, 'she maintaining and educating those children according to her discretion,' was signed by two of his medical attendants, Alexander Lindsay, a surgeon, and George Stewart, surgeon-general, and also by Samuel Stone, a lieutenant of the Derby militia.

At the commencement of Lord Edward's imprisonment in Newgate, Lieutenant Stone had been appointed by the authorities to remain with Lord Edward, and see that he was duly attended to.

This gentleman executed the duties assigned to him with humanity and kindness ; and Lord Edward's sufferings were in some degree soothed by the affectionate interest which he seemed to feel in him ; and Lord Edward, we are told, was pleased with him ; but, without any assignable cause or motive that could be imagined, except that by his humanity he had rendered himself pleasing to the dying prisoner,

he was removed from his charge upon June 2 ; but at the request of Lady Louisa Connolly, he was permitted to accompany the remains of Lord Edward to their final resting-place in Werburgh's Church, on Wednesday, June 6.

The remains of the son of the Duke of Leinster, the most honoured and beloved of all his race, were stealthily conveyed in the dead of night from the jail where he died, with all the privacy and paucity of care and consideration for the dead that one might expect to encounter at the interment of a malefactor. Two persons escorted the remains to their destination—one of the name of Shiel, and Lieutenant Stone.

The solitary coach which constituted the funeral *cortège* on that occasion was stopped no less than four times by the military yeomanry rabble or armed Orangemen who then guarded, or rather governed, the city of Dublin, and eventually the whole *cortège* was captured and detained by the gallant captors, till a message was despatched to the Castle, and Mr. Edward Cooke sent back the orders that he neglected to have previously issued, for the interment of the remains of Lord Edward without molestation at the hands of the military.

A bill of attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald was introduced into the House of Commons on July 27, 1798, by Mr. Toler, then Attorney-General, a man in every way worthy of the part assigned him by the Irish Government in that iniquitous proceeding. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, though alleged to have

committed various acts of high treason since November 1, 1797, had not been tried for any crime, was unconvicted and uncondemned.

The bill of attainder was carried triumphantly through both Houses of Parliament. The farce was performed, and the formality gone through of examining *credible* witnesses, and among the latter the friend of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. Thomas Reynolds, was duly examined, and on his evidence chiefly the widow and children of Lord Edward were deprived of the little property left by him, which at any period never exceeded six hundred a year. But however small the amount, it was their sole dependence, and it was taken from them. The bill received the royal assent in the month of October 1798. Lord Clare, however, to his honour, eventually allowed the estate to be sold in Chancery, with the sanction of the Attorney-General, to Mr. Ogilvie, for the sum of 10,500*l.*, and subsequently it was settled by Mr. Ogilvie on Lord Edward's son and his heirs for ever. From the date of the attainder to the year 1819, various applications were made by members of Lord Edward's family for the reversal of that measure. To the various memorials and letters praying for the reversal of the attainder, addressed to the King, the Prince Regent, and the Duke of York, we find the names attached of the Duke of Richmond, Lord Holland, Charles James Fox, General Fox, Lord Henry Fitzgerald, Mr. Ogilvie, the Duchess of Leinster, and Lady Louisa Connolly.

For the period of twenty-one years these efforts were persevered in, and notwithstanding the Prince Regent and the Duke of York had generously expressed their desire on several occasions that the attainder should be reversed, notwithstanding the powerful influence exerted by the Duke of Richmond in favour of that object, such was the power of the Orange ascendency faction in the Irish Government, that all those efforts proved of no avail for the lengthened period above referred to. It remained for the Earl of Liverpool, in 1819, to perform a great act of tardy justice, and to gain for the Prince Regent the highest eulogy that a prince could receive, on a reversal of that attainder. The conduct of the Prince Regent in this instance certainly deserved the noble tribute paid to it by one of the first of English poets.

The conduct of every member of the noble family of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, from the time of his capture to that of the interment of his remains, and down to the period of the reversal of the attainder and the restoration of his property to his children, was an exemplification of that ardent attachment and strong affection which bound all the members of the Fitzgerald family to their beloved and illustrious relative. Nothing was left undone that could be thought of or attempted in his behalf while living, or for his memory when dead.

The character and capabilities of the military chief of the Society of United Irishmen suffer, per-

haps, from the abundance of details illustrative of the amiability of his disposition. In their admiration of the latter, people lose sight of the great qualities of the efficient, well-instructed officer, of the resolute, clear-sighted, energetic, self-possessed man, the practical soldier and commander, with remarkable quickness of perception ; capable of glancing over a country, and duly estimating the advantages and disadvantages of each locality of importance as a military position to be defended or assailed. The study of his profession, and the practical knowledge he had gained of it in America, enabled him to form opinions on military subjects, several of which were greatly in advance of those which prevailed in the service a century ago.

The loss of Lord Edward to the cause of the United Irishmen was irretrievable. It might be possible to replace all the other members of the Directory, after the arrests in March ; but there was no substitute to be found in Ireland for Lord Edward. He was the only military man in connection with the Union, capable of taking command of any considerable number of men, competent for the important office assigned him, and qualified for it by a knowledge of his profession, practical as well as theoretical. When he was lost to the cause, it was madness to think there was any hope left of a successful issue for resistance.

In one of the vaults of Werburgh's Church the remains of Lord Edward Fitzgerald are deposited,

immediately under the chancel. The entrance to the vault is within a few paces of the grave of Henry Charles Sirr, by whose hand the former perished. The desperate struggle that took place between them the one survived fifteen days, the other, forty-three years. Few who visit the place where they are interred will recall the history of both without lamenting the fate of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and deploring the evils of the calamitous times which called the services of such a man as Sirr into action.

The coffin in which Lady Guy Campbell had the remains of her noble father placed bears the following inscription on a brass plate :

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD,

FIFTH SON OF THE DUKE OF LEINSTER.

BORN OCTOBER 15, 1763.

DIED JUNE 4, 1798.

BURIED JUNE 6, 1798.

To preserve the leaden coffin containing his remains, it was enclosed in this additional protection by his children, February 8, 1844.

'What a noble fellow,' said Lord Byron, 'was Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and what a romantic and singular history his was ! If it were not too near our times, it would make the finest subject in the world for an historical novel.'

As soon as Lady Fitzgerald heard of her husband's arrest and imprisonment she used every effort in her power to get permission to visit him. This was denied ; she even sold all her jewellery to realise

a sufficient sum to tempt the jailer of the prison. The bribe was accepted, but the man deceived her. Lord Camden, the Viceroy, issued an order that Lady Fitzgerald should quit the kingdom, and refused to listen to any remonstrances on her behalf. On her expulsion from Ireland, Lady Fitzgerald proceeded to England and was kindly received by the Duke of Richmond at Goodwood, where the mother of Lord Edward was staying. Neither the Duchess of Leinster nor any of her husband's family showed her much consideration. On the death of her husband his property was confiscated, and the unfortunate woman was left almost penniless. For economy she left England and went to live in Hamburg, where, many years after, she married Mr. Pitcairn, the American Consul. This was an unfortunate alliance, which brought no happiness to either party. Divorced from Mr. Pitcairn, she went to live in France, and fixed her abode near Madame de Genlis. Various stories are told of her beauty, her vivacity, and the number of proposals she received before her ill-starred second marriage. The Duke of Richmond was one of her admirers; she refused his proposal, and it would seem that the marriage lottery contained for her nothing but misery. The Orleans family saved her from destitution by allowing her 500*l.* a year. Pamela lost all her beauty and grew to an enormous size. After her death her body swelled considerably. They found it impossible to get the remains into the coffin which had been prepared for her, and, as another

could not be found sufficiently large, the undertaker's servants had to force down into the coffin that body once so beautiful, so much praised and admired. That was the last act in the drama of a life which probably contained more light and shade than falls to the lot of most Court beauties. Her death took place in November, 1831, and her remains were interred in the cemetery of Montmartre. Such was the sad fate of the most beautiful woman of her day.

WHITECHAPEL
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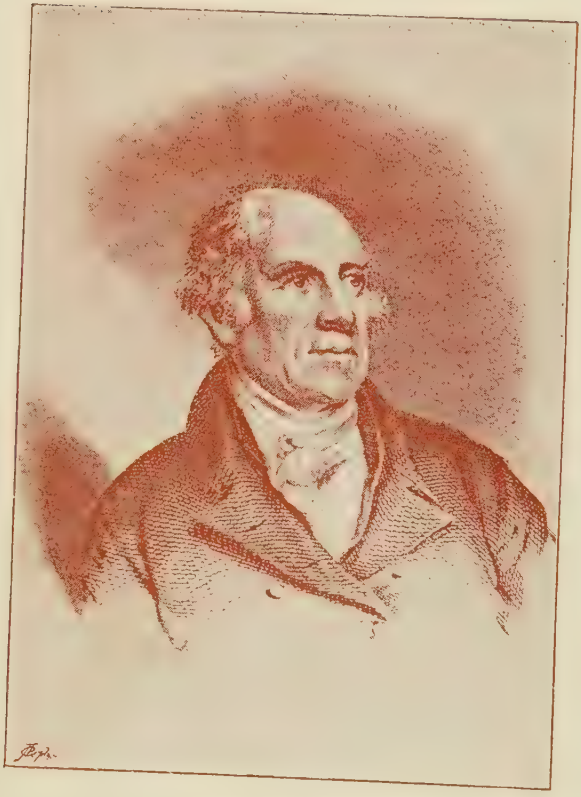

A. HAMILTON ROWAN

CHAPTER V.

ARCHIBALD HAMILTON ROWAN.

Parentage—Education—Tour in Holland—Visit to America—Lasting impressions—Travels on the Continent—Marriage and return to Ireland—The Whig Club—Joins United Irishmen—Tone's account of the Society—Duel—Arrest—Trial—Imprisonment—A packed jury—Romantic escape—Reward of 1,000*l.*—Peasant loyalty—Arrival in France—Fresh adventures—The Reign of Terror—A letter from Castlereagh—Pardon—Retirement—A good citizen.

A. H. ROWAN was descended of a Scotch family, whose earliest representative of any note was Hans Hamilton, vicar of Dunlop, in Cunningham. From this person the Hamiltons of Killyleagh have their descent. This first settler of the family in Ireland, in Lord Bacon's poetical phraseology, had his 'honours most plentifully watered' with extensive grants of territory in Ireland, which had been forfeited to the Crown in former reigns, a great part of which was in the county Down, and amongst these, the castle and lands of Killyleagh, which had formerly belonged to the Irish sept of the O'Niel. Strange to say, the old Anglican colonists in Ireland, whose honours were watered most plentifully with grants of forfeited estates, furnished descendants amongst whom are to

be traced at least two-thirds of the principal leaders of the United Irishmen.

The father of Archibald Hamilton Rowan was Gawn Hamilton, of Killyleagh. His mother was the only daughter of William Rowan, and widow of Tichborne Aston, Esq., of Beaulieu, near Drogheda, in the county of Louth—a lady also of Scotch descent, whose family had settled in Ireland in the reign of James I. Gawn Hamilton and his lady having removed to London, their eldest child, A. H. Rowan, was born there on May 12, 1757. He spent some time at a preparatory school in London, and was then sent to Westminster School, and in due time to Cambridge, where he became intimately acquainted with the Rev. John Jebb, a fellow of Peterhouse College, whose religious and political sentiments interfering with his profession in the Church and position in the university, he resigned his living and abandoned his college, rather than '*act a lie weekly in the presence of the God of truth.*'

In the winter succeeding his matriculation in Cambridge, during vacation, accompanied by his fellow-students, Sir John Borlase Warren and Mr. Newcombe, Rowan made a tour in Holland; and on his return he accompanied Lord Charles Montague, Governor of South Carolina, then on leave of absence in England, to America, and in the nominal office of private secretary of his lordship, was taken on board the vessel of war appointed to convey the Governor to his destination. He arrived there during the

bickerings that were going on between England and her colonies.

The commencements of revolutions are stirring subjects of meditation for a young man of any temperament; but for one of Rowan's ardent feelings, chivalrous sentiments, and enthusiastic nature, the spectacle of those vast interests and opinions of opposed classes, coming into collision in the Old and the New World, in France and America, could not fail to leave very deep and lasting impressions. However, after having spent nearly three months at Charleston, he returned to England, and was soon figuring in a martial character, 'quartered at Gosport, as captain of grenadiers in the Huntingdon militia.' After some months of campaigning in country towns, ball-rooms, public promenades, race-courses, &c., he again visited France, and made a lengthened sojourn in Paris, and, subsequently, made a tour in Portugal and some parts of Spain and Italy.

In 1781, Rowan, then residing with his mother in France, married a young Irish lady of the name of Dawson, daughter of Walter Dawson, of Lisanisk, near Carrickmacross. The marriage was celebrated in the Dutch ambassador's chapel in Paris.

In 1784, Rowan left France for Ireland, and henceforward made that country his settled place of abode.

He first established himself in a small cottage near Naas, in the county Kildare, but after a short

residence there, purchased Rathcoffy, in the same county.

Mr. Rowan is truly described by Topham as an able man, of strong convictions, resolute in upholding his views of what he conceived to be the right, and needing only to have his noble energies properly directed to become a great public character, an ornament to his country, and a man most useful to the State.

This promising young man returned to his native land at a critical period of its history. Ireland was a bad field for the energies and principles of a man like Rowan. To manifest any feelings hostile to oppression of any kind was to become a marked man, dangerous to the faction that ruled the Irish State—a man to be closely watched, to be ensnared if possible, and inveigled into some course of action which the law could reach, and to be made away with in due time.

Rowan set out on his political career in Ireland as a reformer, a Catholic emancipationist, and a Whig, though of democratic principles. In 1790 we find his name, and that of the Hon. Robert Stewart (the future Lord Castlereagh), in the list of the members of the Whig Club. They were fellow-members, likewise, of the Volunteer Association. But Castlereagh abandoned his early principles, and became prime minister of England. Rowan retained his, and very narrowly escaped being hanged for the maintenance of them.

In 1792 we find Mr. Rowan a member of the

Club of United Irishmen—a society which then sought only a reform of Parliament.

'I must do the society,' says the unfortunate Theobald Wolfe Tone, 'the justice to say, that I believe there never existed a political body which included among its members a greater portion of sincere uncorrupted patriotism, as well as a very respectable portion of talent. Their publications, most of them written by Dr. Dreunan, and many of them admirably well done, began to draw the public attention, especially as they were evidently the production of a society utterly disclaiming all party views or motives, and acting on a broad original scale, not sparing those who called themselves patriots, more than those who were the habitual slaves of the Government, a system in which I heartily concurred, having long entertained a more sincere contempt for what is called the Opposition, than for the common prostitutes of the Treasury bench, who want at least the vice of hypocrisy.

'At length the Solicitor-General, in speaking of the society, having made use of expressions in the House of Commons extremely offensive, an explanation was demanded of him by Simon Butler, chairman, and Tandy, secretary.

'Butler was satisfied; Tandy was not; and after several messages, which it is not my affair to detail, the Solicitor-General at length complained to the House of a breach of privilege, and Tandy was ordered in the first instance into custody. He was, in conse-

quence, arrested by a messenger, from whom he found means to escape, and immediately a proclamation was issued, offering a reward for retaking him. The society now was in a difficult situation, and I thought myself called upon to make an effort, at all hazards to myself, to prevent its falling, by improper timidity, in the public opinion. We were, in fact, committed with the House of Commons on the question of privilege; and, having fairly engaged in the contest, it was impossible to recede without a total forfeiture of character. Under these circumstances, I cast my eyes on Archibald Hamilton Rowan, a distinguished member of the society, whose manly virtues, public and private, had set his name above the reach of even the malevolence of party; whose situation in life was of the most respectable rank (if rank be indeed respectable); and, above all, whose personal courage was not to be shaken—a circumstance, in the actual situation of affairs, of the last importance. To Rowan, therefore, I applied. I showed him that the current of public opinion was rather setting against us in the business, and that it was necessary that some of us should step forward and expose ourselves at all risks, to show the House of Commons, and the nation at large, that we were not to be intimidated or put down so easily; and I offered, if he would take the chair, that I would, with the society's permission, act as secretary, and that we would give our signatures to such publications as circumstances might render necessary. Rowan instantly agreed; and, accordingly,

on the next night of meeting, he was chosen chairman, and I secretary, in the absence of Tandy; and the society having agreed to the resolutions proposed, which were worded in a manner very offensive to the House of Commons, and, in fact, amounted to a challenge of their authority, we inserted them all in the newspapers, and printed 5,000 copies with our names affixed. The least that Rowan and I expected in consequence of this step (which under the circumstances was, I must say, rather a bold one), was to be committed to Newgate for a breach of privilege, and, perhaps, exposed to personal discussion with some of the members of the House of Commons; for he proposed, and I agreed, that if any disrespectful language was applied to either of us in any debate which might arise on the business, we would attack the person, whoever he might be, immediately, and oblige him either to recall his words or give battle.

'All our determinations, however, came to nothing. The House of Commons, either content with their victory over Tandy, who was obliged to conceal himself for some time, or not thinking Rowan or myself objects sufficiently important to attract their notice; or, perhaps (which I rather believe), not wishing just then to embroil themselves with a man of Rowan's firmness and courage, not to speak of his great and justly merited popularity, took no notice whatsoever of our resolutions; and in this manner he and I had the good fortune, or, if I may say, the merit, to rescue the society from a situation of considerable

difficulty, without any actual suffering, though certainly with some personal hazard on our parts. We had, likewise, the satisfaction to see the society, instead of losing ground, rise rapidly in the public opinion by their firmness on the occasion. Shortly after, on the last day of the session, Tandy appeared in public, and was taken into custody, the whole society attending him in a body to the House of Commons. He was ordered by the Speaker to be committed to Newgate, whither he was conveyed, the society attending him as before; and the Parliament being prorogued in half-an-hour after, he was liberated immediately, and escorted in triumph to his own house.

'On this occasion Rowan and I attended of course, and were in the gallery of the House of Commons. As we were not sure but we might be attacked ourselves, we took pains to place ourselves in a conspicuous situation, and to wear our Whig Club uniforms, which were rather gaudy, in order to signify to all whom it might concern that there we were. A good many of the members, we observed, remarked us, but no further notice was taken; our names were never mentioned; the whole business passed over quietly, and I resigned my pro-secretaryship, being the only office I ever held in the society, into the hands of Tandy, who resumed his functions.'

Rowan was engaged in a duelling affair in the early part of 1792, between Peter Burrows and Mr. Matthew Dowling, on which occasion he acted as second to Dowling.

This duel of Peter Burrows and Dowling was followed, in the month of October 1792, by an interview which Mr. Rowan had with the Earl of Clare, then Lord Fitzgibbon, on behalf of the Hon. Simon Butler, of which the memoir of Rowan contains the following account: 'He and Oliver Bond, an eminent merchant, as chairman and secretary to the United Irish Society, had signed a paper, for which they were called before the House of Lords, were voted to have been guilty of a breach of privilege of that House, and were ordered to pay a fine of 500*l.*, and to be imprisoned six months in Newgate.

'In delivering the sentence of the Lords, Lord Fitzgibbon, addressing Mr. Butler, said, "That *he* could not plead ignorance; that his noble birth and professional rank at the bar, to both of which he was a *disgrace*, had aggravated his crime." Mr. Butler was not of a temper to bear insult; he determined to call on Lord Fitzgibbon for an apology as soon as he should be liberated. Mr. Sheares was to be his friend on the occasion; but he was in the country at that time. The business was such as could not be delayed, and Mr. Butler applied to me to act in Mr. Sheares' place. In consequence I wrote to his lordship, requesting an appointment to wait on him on behalf of my friend Mr. Butler, and his lordship appointed the next day. When I waited on him, I called to his recollection the expressions he had made use of in passing the sentence of the House of Lords on my friends Messrs. Butler and Bond

and those which he had particularly addressed to Mr. Butler, which I hoped to be permitted to say it was not his lordship's intention should be taken personally, and had been made use of unreflectingly. Lord Fitzgibbon said that he thought the circumstances of the case called for the expressions he had used, that he never spoke unreflectingly in that situation, and under similar circumstances he would again use similar words. I then said that in mine and Mr. Butler's opinion the sentence of the Lords did not authorise the words he had made use of, and that if it had occurred between two private gentlemen, my conduct would be plain and easy, but his lordship's situation of Chancellor embarrassed me. Here I paused. After some further conversation his lordship said I knew his situation, and he wished me to recollect it. I then took my leave, saying that his lordship's situation prevented my acting as I must have done with a private gentleman. Immediately I wrote a note of this conversation, which I gave to Mr. Butler, who thought it necessary for his character to publish it. I requested him to delay the publication until I should have submitted to Lord Fitzgibbon a copy of the report of the conversation with him, and had given him to understand it was Mr. Butler's intention to publish it in the newspapers. Lord Fitzgibbon returned the copy to me the same day, thanking me for the communication, adding that "it was not for him to advise Mr. Butler."

'The next morning I received a visit from a very

old friend, Colonel Murray, who accosted me with, "So a pretty piece of work you have made, Hamilton, taking a challenge to the Chancellor." "How the deuce do you know that?" "Why, to cut the matter short, I breakfasted this morning with Fitzgibbon, and he told me the whole affair." To this old friend I had said that I regretted my having come to Ireland when I found party ran so high, and I intended, as soon as the present prosecution was over, to return to England. My friend told me that he had repeated this to Lord Fitzgibbon, who, he said, had commissioned him to tell me that if I would promise to go to England and remain there for a few years, he would issue a *nol. pros.* on the present prosecution. To this I readily assented, on condition that it should be issued immediately. My reason for making this stipulation was, that it had been reported some short time previous (when on my mother's death I had been obliged to go to England to arrange her property in that country), that I, as well as Napper Tandy, had fled from the prosecution commenced against us. This compromise was, however, finally put an end to by its being required that I should strike my name out of the United Irishmen's Society—a measure to which I could not consent.'

'In 1792 (says Rowan in his autobiographical memoir), I was arrested by a warrant from Judge Downes, on a charge of distributing a seditious paper; and crediting his lordship's assurance that the examinations upon which the warrant was granted

should be returned to the Clerk of the Crown, to be laid by him before the next term grand jury, I followed the advice of my law friends, and instead of going to jail, in pursuance of my own opinion, I gave bail for my appearance in the King's Bench, to answer such charges as should be there made against me. I had at first declared my wish to employ no other counsel to defend me than those who belonged to the society of United Irishmen; but Messrs. Emmett and Butler both declined the task, as they said it might look like arrogance in junior counsellors to conduct so great a cause as that which would probably ensue. The known unbending patriotism of Mr. Fletcher, who (though afterwards raised to the bench) always declared the necessity of parliamentary reform, pointed him out to me as one under whose guidance I should wish to place myself; but this suggestion was again overruled by the entreaty of Mrs. Hamilton Rowan, and of almost all my friends, that I should employ Mr. Curran. His high character, which never deserted him as a friend to the people, occasioned my asking him whether he would employ his talent rather in defence of the paper for the distribution of which I was prosecuted, than on any minor object. Having answered in the affirmative, he became my leading counsel.

'During the succeeding Hilary term I daily attended in the King's Bench. On the last day of that term, finding that no examination had been laid before the grand jury against me, counsel on my

behalf moved that the examinations should be returned forthwith, particularly as Mr. Attorney-General had in the course of the term filed two informations *ex officio* against me, the one for the same alleged offence of distributing a seditious paper, and the other for a seditious conspiracy.

'Mr. Justice Downes, who was then on the bench, asserted that he had on the first day of term returned the examinations to the Clerk of the Crown, who said, that from the multiplicity of the examinations returned to him on the first day of term, he had not time to look at them, and requested the court would make no order. My hopes of a speedy trial were therefore at an end.

'My mother shortly afterwards died, and I was obliged to go to England on private business, which required me to stay there some time. During my absence from Ireland, every runner in office, supported by the newspapers in the pay of Government, connected the name of Hamilton Rowan with that of Napper Tandy, and proclaimed both as *dishonoured fugitives from justice.*

'A few days before the Easter term I returned to Ireland, and daily attended the King's Bench, until the term was nearly spent; and finding that no bills were sent up by the grand jury against me, counsel on my behalf moved the court that the recognisance entered into by me, and by my bail, should be vacated; at the same time publicly declaring that if the motion was not agreed to, I was then in court for

the purpose of surrendering myself in discharge of my bail. The recognisance was vacated accordingly. The above-mentioned examinations having also charged Mr. Tandy with a similar offence, his recognisance was estreated, and a green wax process ordered against his bail. Had I been absent, my recognisance also would have been estreated; but on my having appeared and declared my readiness to meet the charge, the Government filed fresh informations, *ex officio*, and refused to proceed upon the former examinations, and denied to me all knowledge of the person by whom they were sworn. A motion on my behalf was then made to fix certain days for the trial of the information *ex officio* against me; the Attorney-General agreed to the appointment of two days in the ensuing Trinity term—viz. the 3rd and 7th days of May. In the Easter vacation the Attorney-General served on me a notice that he would not proceed to trial on the days appointed, and would apply to the court to appoint other days, grounded on an affidavit to be filed, of which notice would be given. Nothing further was done upon this notice, no affidavit was filed, or motion made thereon; and the process necessary for the empanelling of juries on the days appointed having been (after being issued) kept by Mr. Kemmis, the Crown solicitor, instead of being delivered to the sheriff, a notice was made on my behalf that the necessary process should be forthwith delivered to the proper officer, in order

that the trials might be had on the days appointed. My motion was opposed by a phalanx of Crown lawyers, headed by the Attorney-General, who declared that there was an error in the information for distributing a seditious paper. I now offered to agree to an immediate amendment of the information, or that a fresh one should be filed and pleaded to *instanter*, or that I would release all errors.

'All these offers were severally refused, as the object of Government seemed to be to gain time; and my friends strongly suspected that the motive for postponing the trial was the expectation of packed juries, through the means of the sheriffs for the ensuing year, Jenkins and Giffard, both notoriously under the influence and even in the pay of the Government.

'I must further take notice of some underhand transactions against me. When the idea of renewing the volunteer system was embraced by several of its zealous friends, certain persons, calling themselves soldiers, came to my house with offers of their assistance; but appearing to be sent as spies upon my conduct and expressions, I declined to see them, or have any concern with them.

'One of the name of Corbally came to my house, and proposed to teach my men-servants how to make up artillery ammunition. This offer having been declined, there was some attempt made to bribe this

man to lodge examinations of some sort against me; and he having resisted, it was thought that something might be forced from him by fear. Accordingly he was apprehended on a warrant of high treason, and was told by the person who took him that he had but one way to save his life, which was to swear against me. He was kept in jail for five months under this charge, and while in confinement they attempted to cajole him into the King's service. When by law he became entitled to be discharged, or have proceedings preferred against him, the charge of high treason was withdrawn, and an indictment found against him for a misdemeanour, to which he gave bail, and thereon obtained his liberty. One Maguire, a Defender, was confined with Corbally, to whom I understood similar proposals were made, and the following circumstance warrants the belief. Corbally lodged examinations against Mr. Justice Graham, who immediately went to the jail, saw Maguire, and accepted his bail, which he refused the day but one before, and neither he nor his bail has since been heard of. Graham stood his trial, and was acquitted, and prosecuted Corbally, who was tried and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. At the time the attempt was made to bribe Corbally, the Speaker of the House of Commons asserted in company that Mr. Hamilton Rowan did not know the risk he ran, for they had evidence against him which would touch his life. And a noted partisan of the administration said in the Four Courts that a discovery was made that a gentleman, and a

man of some property, had distributed money among the Defenders. This was also the charge against Napper Tandy.

'At length,' continues the memoir, 'I was brought to trial (January 1794), Mr. Giffard being the acting sheriff for the current six months. On striking the jury, I objected to two of them, and offered to bring proof that they had declared "*Ireland would never be quiet until Hamilton Rowan and Napper Tandy were hanged.*" But this challenge was not allowed by the bench.'

On this trial Mr. Curran pronounced a speech which will for ever associate his name with that of Rowan. So splendid an exhibition of eloquence had never been witnessed in an Irish, nor perhaps in any other, court of law. .

Giffard's skill in the packing of the jury was, however, more potent in its influences and results than any power of eloquence of the Irish Demosthenes could possibly be over the minds of such men as Giffard had put in the jury-box.

The jury, in the course of ten minutes, brought in a verdict of *guilty*. Lord Clonmel, after conferring with the other judges, said, 'We will not pronounce judgment till four days.' Mr. Rowan was then ordered into custody of the sheriff, 'and was conveyed to the New Prison, attended by both the sheriffs and a formidable array of horse and foot guards.'

The packing of the jury was only one feature in

the judicial arrangements made for the conviction of Rowan. The principal witness produced against him, George W. T. Lyster, *alias* Captain, *alias* Ensign Lyster, was a person whose evidence was unreliable in any case ; but in this particular one it was utterly at variance with truth. The address to the volunteers, which he swore had been distributed by Rowan, had been presented to the people at the meeting, and to Lyster, by a person of the name of Willis, a skinner, formerly a member of the Volunteer Association.

In December 1794, Mr. Lyster had an action taken against him in the King's Bench, by his father-in-law, Mr. H. Hatchell, for the recovery of moneys expended for the support of his wife, whom he had deserted, and there was a verdict found for the plaintiff. And a little later we read of an Ensign Lyster, for conduct unbecoming a gentleman and an officer, being disgraced and dismissed the army.

It would be now useless to refer to the foul means resorted to in Rowan's case to obtain a conviction, but it shows the influence which the recourse to packed juries, and the employment of perjured witnesses, had on the minds of the people, and especially of their leaders, at that period. So long as the fountains of justice were believed to be even moderately pure—so long as it was unknown that they were poisoned at their very source—there were some bounds to the popular discontent. The language of the Liberals of that day might be bold, violent, and

intemperate—not more so, nay, not so much so, as the language used with impunity at political societies in the present day—but they still had privileges and advantages to lose by sedition, and the most valuable of all was the trial by jury, which, from the time of Rowan's trial, in public opinion, had ceased to be a safeguard or a security to the people.

At the expiration of four days the prisoner was brought up for judgment. Before sentence was pronounced, Rowan, at his own request, was permitted to speak ; and accordingly he addressed the court in language at once courteous and dignified.

He observed that in some parts of the evidence, the court and the prosecutor seemed to be mistaken, and that, had some of his friends, volunteers, who were present at the meeting, been summoned to give their testimony, the charge exhibited against him by Lyster would have fallen to the ground. As to the jury, he admitted that some of them were very honourable men, yet much prejudiced, and his avowed enemies. He acknowledged his wish and his attempt to revive the volunteers, for they had done honour to the nation. As to the sheriff, in the capacity of editor to a newspaper he had been his constant calumniator ; and now in the office of sheriff, he had empanelled a jury, by some of whom he (Rowan) had been prejudged. He avowed himself to be a United Irishman, and gloried in the name. He justified the terms Universal Emancipation and Representative Legislation, in opposition to

a meaning imputed to them by the counsel for the prosecution.[1]

'I did imagine,' says he, 'that the British constitution was a representative legislature; that the people were represented by the House of Commons; that the Lords represented the territory, the property; and that the King represented the power of the estate, the united force, the power of the whole placed in his hands for the benefit of the whole. As a person, as a man, I know nothing of the King; I can know nothing of him except wielding the force of the nation; and if that force should be misapplied and abused, it then remains for the people to decide in what hands it ought to be placed.'

In conclusion he says: 'I really feel myself in an awkward situation, thus declaring my sentiments, seeing intentions different from those both of the author and myself are fixed upon that paper, for the distribution of which I am persecuted.

'From my situation, however, having an independent fortune, easy in my circumstances, and with a large family, insurrection of any sort would surely be the last thing I could wish for. I ask no favour, but I submit myself to the clemency and justice of the court, and trust that, whatever may be their sentence, I shall bear it with becoming fortitude.'

The Society of United Irishmen, on February 7,

[1] The employment of these terms in the condemned paper formed part of the indictment against him.—Ed.

1794, presented an address to Mr. Rowan, then undergoing the sentence of imprisonment in Newgate, expressing the obligations the country was under to him for his bold assertion of its rights, and its sympathy with his sufferings in its cause.

Rowan had been nearly two months in Newgate when an emissary of the French Government, the Rev. William Jackson, arrived in Ireland, accompanied by his friend Cockayne, a London solicitor, in the beginning of April, 1794. Mr. Leonard M'Nally, the barrister, the 'friend' of Cockayne, through another friend, Mr. Lewines, had got the French emissary and his companion, the spy and informer of Mr. Pitt, introduced to Rowan, Tone, and Dr. Reynolds. Rowan fell at once and without any apparent misgiving into the snare. Evidence was obtained against him of complicity with Jackson 'sufficient to hang him.' Jackson, all unconscious as he was of the part he was performing, having been allowed to do the work of Cockayne and his employer, Mr. Pitt, was arrested the latter end of April, 1794.

In the meantime Dr. Reynolds, being duly apprised of his danger, fled the country and escaped to America. Rowan also, being duly apprised of the evidences of treason that existed in the hands of the Government against him, was afforded an opportunity of escape from prison and from Ireland. It is stated, and I believe with truth, that more than one member of the Privy Council was in the habit of communicat-

ing secrets of great importance to the members of the Directory of the United Irishmen.

The fact of the secrets of Government, on many important occasions, having been communicated to the Directory, has been distinctly stated to me by Arthur O'Connor and Dr. M'Neven. On May 1, Rowan prevailed on two subordinate officials of the jailer of Newgate to allow him to go to his house in Dominick Street for the avowed purpose of signing certain legal documents, accompanied by one of the above-mentioned prison officials, the younger M'Dowell, undertaking to return when this legal business had been transacted. An offer of 100*l.* for this service was made by Rowan.

The jailer had no knowledge at this time of Rowan being implicated in the charges of high treason that had been brought against Jackson, but conceived, as Mr. Rowan's confinement was only on a charge for libel, that there was no danger of his meditating an escape.

On reaching his house, Rowan, while apparently waiting the arrival of his man of business, proffered the 100*l.* he had promised; and, to use his own words: 'Young M'Dowell at first refused the money; he thrust back the purse, saying he did not do it for gain; but on his (Rowan) remonstrating, he relented, and consented to put the money in his pocket.' Then, on pretence of having a few words to say in private to Mrs. Rowan, he obtained permission to retire into the back drawing-room. At the jailer's request the

folding-door was left open, and Mr. Rowan lost no time in availing himself of the advantage so opportunely afforded. His excellent lady had contrived the means of escape; by a rope he descended from the window into the back yard, and in the stable found a horse already saddled.

Disguising himself in a peasant's great coat, he proceeded to the residence of his attorney, Mr. Dowling, who was in the secret of his design.

Unfortunately that gentleman's house was filled with guests, and by his advice Mr. Rowan proceeded to the top of Sackville Street, opposite the Rotundo, where he continued to walk up and down, in the most anxious state of suspense, for an hour and a half. At length his friend appeared, and after a short conference, Mr. Rowan proceeded to the house of Mr. Sweetman, near Baldoyle, where he continued for a few days.

The two M'Dowells, father and son, subordinates of Mr. Gregg, the head jailer of Newgate, who had been privy to the escape of Rowan on the evening of May 1, 1794, were arraigned on July 10 following, on this serious charge.

Gregg, the head jailer, deposed that it was only at eight o'clock on the morning of May 2, when he went round the prison, that he discovered Mr. Rowan had escaped. That he questioned the M'Dowells, the turnkeys of that part of the prison, and was informed that Mr. Rowan had accompanied Mrs. Rowan to the door of the prison, who had been there

to visit him, 'and in handing *Mrs. Rowan to her carriage*, rushed through the crowd and made his escape.'

Sheriff Jenkin deposed, that the elder M'Dowell had admitted to him that his wife had let out Mr. Rowan, and that on passing the door he rushed down the steps and made his escape. The jury brought in a verdict of *guilty* against both traversers.

Immediately after Mr. Rowan's escape, a proclamation, offering a thousand pounds for his re-capture, was issued by Government.

A very important document in manuscript, having the autograph signature of the widow of Mr. Sweetman, by whose co-operation the escape of Rowan to France was effected, has been placed in my hands by Mr. Jackson; and to that authentic narrative of Mrs. Sweetman I refer for all the particulars of that occurrence.

'On May 1, 1794, my late husband, Robert Sweetman, retired to rest at an early hour. About one o'clock the maidservant was awoke by a loud rapping at the hall door; she inquired who was there, and was answered by a person who said he wanted to see Mr. Sweetman. She said he was in bed, and could not be disturbed; after several applications, she was prevailed upon to tell her master that a person wished to see him. He was much displeased at being annoyed at such an hour, and told her to tell the person that he would not see anyone at such an hour, and to call in the morning.

'The maid was prevailed upon a third time to tell her master that the business of the applicant was of great importance, and that he had a letter that should be delivered to Mr. Sweetman in person. He consented, and put on a part of his clothes. Opening the hall door, he was greatly surprised at the appearance of his visitor; he was disguised in a fisherman's dress, and Mr. Sweetman often told me that he looked like a robber. Mr. Rowan told him who he was, as also his escape from prison, and that he threw himself on his mercy. Mr. Sweetman brought him upstairs. Mr. Rowan was greatly excited; after a while, he told Mr. Sweetman of his desire to quit the country, and that he would give the half of what he was possessed of for a boat.

'Mr. Sweetman, the following morning, set off for Rush, Skerries, and Balbriggan, to procure, if possible, a boat; he offered 500*l.* for anyone to convey a gentleman who was embarrassed to any part of France. No one could be found to run the risk for double the amount.

'When Mr. Sweetman returned unsuccessful, Mr. Rowan was much dejected, not knowing what to do; he occupied a small room called the end room, with a case of pistols and razors on the dressing-table, fully determined, in case he was discovered, to destroy himself. Mr. Sweetman told him he had a pleasure boat, if he would risk his life in so small a boat.

'"Put me in a cockle-shell," he said, "if it would be the means of my escape."

'There was a difficulty in procuring trusty men; after a deal of anxiety, he procured three staunch fellows—two Sheridans, brothers, and a third of the name of Murray. The men were promised great remuneration for their arduous undertaking. Mr. Sweetman went to Dublin to purchase maps, sea store, &c. At the time he was purchasing the maps at M'Auley and Hughes's, on George's Quay, the captain of one of his Majesty's revenue cruisers came to the same shop to renew his maps, and told Mr. Sweetman he had orders from Government to have a look-out for Hamilton Rowan, not at all suspecting that Mr. Sweetman was providing for the escape of the fugitive.

'It took four days to provide everything requisite for the voyage. From this period Mr. Sweetman was a marked man. He was taken prisoner, and accused of keeping fire-arms.

'When Mr. Rowan was leaving Sutton, he gave Mr. Sweetman a letter for Mrs. Rowan, begging her to provide for the families of the men employed to navigate the boat. She never complied with his request. All matters being ready, Mr. Rowan left Sutton on May 4, 1794, at four o'clock in the morning. Previous to his departure, he went on his knees in the drawing-room to beg that Almighty God would preserve his deliverer from all harm, and that a blessing might descend upon him and his posterity; and that, if he ever returned to his native land, he should have

the half of what he was worth. This scene, Mr. Sweetman told me, was very affecting.

'The boat got under weigh with a fair wind, until off the Saltees it came on to blow hard, when she was obliged to bear up from whence she started. The following morning under weigh again, and crossing the Bay of Dublin, a revenue cutter ran alongside, throwing handbills into the boat, offering a reward of 1,000*l.* for Hamilton Rowan. The wind continued fair, and when off Wexford, the men found a leisure moment to read the handbills. Mr. Rowan, perceiving with what attention they read them, evidently saw that he was discovered. He left the cabin, and told the men that he was the person described in the handbills, and that he depended on their generosity as Irishmen not to molest him. They threw the handbills overboard, and told him to make himself perfectly easy, as they would not deceive him.[1]

'The next memorable event was their having passed through the British fleet in a fog, in the Bay

[1] The late Mr. Sheil, referring to this occurrence, observes :— 'They had reached the mid-channel, when a situation occurred, equalling in dramatic interest the celebrated *Cæsarem vehis* of antiquity. It would certainly make a fine subject for a picture.' Rowan states, in his *Autobiography*, the affair took place on shore, not at sea, as many imagined. While staying at Sweetman's, he met his host one day returning from Dublin, and shortly after they were joined by the two Sheridans, one of whom, taking out of his pocket one of the proclamations, showed it to Mr. Sweetman, and said : 'Is it Mr. Hamilton Rowan we are to take to France?' 'Yes,' replied Mr. Sweetman, 'and here he is.' Immediately the elder brother said : 'Never mind it ; by ——, we will land him safe.'

of Biscay. Mr. Rowan was safely landed in the night. The crew, having escaped unnoticed, were half way home, when captured by a French privateer, and the boat burnt. The men were put into prison, where they remained for twelve months ; they made their escape to America, and arrived once more in their native land. During their absence, Mr. Sweetman had to support their families, for which he never received compensation.

'The men made application to Mrs. Rowan, but she declined all intercourse with them. Mr. Rowan received his pardon, and returned to Ireland one year after the death of Mr. Sweetman. I called on him, and he received me very kindly ; he said he was sorry that he could not at the present time do anything for my family. I mentioned that my visit was not for anything gratuitous, but for compensation for the *loss of the boat.* He seemed much astonished at my application, and said that it was an act of kindness on the part of Mr. Sweetman, and that he had no idea of paying the demand (although previous to his departure he promised that Mr. Sweetman should have the half of what he was worth). At last he desired me to furnish a bill, which I did, for 100*l.* only ; the boat was worth *three hundred.* He said 50*l.* was quite sufficient. I consulted several eminent men of the day, who advised me not to take less than 100*l.* He still refused, and did not pay until I had very reluctantly proceeded against him.

'Many years after, Mr. Rowan paid me a visit at

Sutton, on his way to Mr. Evans of Portrane. He remained several minutes at the hall door, offering up pious ejaculations for the preserver of his *life*.

'I was at first determined to be cool to him; after a little I changed my mind, and asked him to walk in. He ate something, and took a glass of grog. I never saw him afterwards.

'ANNE SWEETMAN.'

The biographer of Mr. Rowan, in reference to the remuneration of the boatmen, observes :—

'Mr. Rowan's generosity, even to those men who were instrumental in effecting his escape to France, could not, with justice to his family, and a thousand demands besides, be without a limit, not possessing the purse of Fortunatus. It appears from a preceding part of this memoir, that he felt a deep interest in the welfare of his little crew; that while in France he exerted all his influence in their behalf, and succeeded in procuring for them a profitable employment in Brest. On their return to Ireland, they received sums of money repeatedly, to what amount is not divulged; but it would be inconsistent with the whole of Rowan's character and conduct to suppose that it was not considerable. Notwithstanding, it was affirmed by some who knew nothing of the matter, but who could not forego the pleasure of inventing and propagating an evil report, that they had received no requital.'

With respect to the preceding statements, I am sorry to have to say, that the brave and faithful poor

men who saved the life of Mr. Rowan were, for a considerable time after their return to Ireland, left very inadequately recompensed for their services to Mr. Rowan and their sufferings on his account; and it was only after Mr. Rowan's return that any adequate sense of the magnitude of the services they had rendered to that gentleman was manifested.

Rowan no sooner landed in France, at the mouth of a small bay called Roscoff, under the port of St. Paul de Léon, than he was seized and placed in durance vile, having escaped a prison in his own country to become a prisoner of state of the Comité de Salut Publique at Roscoff. The next day he was ordered to be sent to Brest, in the safe-keeping of a *garde d'honneur*. At Brest he was imprisoned in the military hospital, where he was looked on as an English spy; but after a short detention he was liberated, and directed to proceed to Paris and report himself to the Comité de Salut Publique of the capital. On his arrival he proceeded to the committee, and was introduced to Robespierre, who received him with civility, and ordered him to be furnished with everything he required, at the expense of the nation. Rowan had ample opportunities of witnessing the horrors of the Reign of Terror. These, however, ceased to a great extent with the downfall and death of Robespierre, 'though in two days after the execution of Robespierre,' says Rowan, 'the whole *commune* of Paris, consisting of about sixty persons, were guillotined in less than one hour and a half in the Place de la Révo-

lution ; and though I was standing a hundred paces from the place of execution, the blood of the victims streamed under my feet.

'Being much discontented,' he says, 'with the distracted state of Paris, after spending almost a year there, I solicited, and with some difficulty obtained, through the assistance of an Irish Roman Catholic of the name of Madgett, passports to Havre, in order to embark for the United States of North America, under the assumed name of Thompson.'

Rowan accordingly determined to proceed to Rouen, embarked in a small boat on April 17, 1795, and got down the river as far as the Port Royal Bridge, when a *sans-culotte* gentleman noticed him, and denounced him to the people as 'a deputy who was escaping with the money of the nation.' This man procured a musket, and repeatedly threatened to shoot the supposed deputy whenever the boat came within range of him on that side of the quay along which he followed the fugitive.

'At length,' says Rowan, 'I came to the landing-place at the gate of Chaillot, when this man, who was evidently intoxicated, in his haste to seize me, stepped upon the gunwale of the little boat, and at the same time swamped it and threw himself into the water. I leaped out, and desired to be conducted to the guard at the barrier of Passy. By this time some hundred persons were collected, and the back ranks, not knowing exactly what was going on in the front, began the usual cry of "À la lanterne!" The officer

of the guard came up from the gate; I showed him my passports, and particularly my certificates of having mounted all my guards in my section. He said my papers were all *en règle*, and that I might proceed; but the mob still insisted that I was carrying off *l'or de la nation*, and I requested the officer, who was drawing off his guard, to allow me to take my small baggage to the guard-room, and open it there for the satisfaction of the people; but he peremptorily refused, and marched off, saying "Ce n'était pas son affaire." At length one from among them proposed to take me before the mayor of Passy, whither I proceeded, conducted by my first friend, who still held me, and followed by the crowd.

'We found the mayor at home. My conductor pushed me into his room. I was somewhat assured as to his character by his saying to this fellow, "Ote ton bonnet; ne vois-tu pas que je suis découvert?" The man obeyed, and then stated his suspicions of my story, one of which was the improbability of intending to row to Havre, and yet wearing gloves at setting out for so long a distance. I again produced my papers to the mayor; they were re-examined, and it was declared that everything was *en règle*, and that they should permit me to continue my voyage. At the same time the mayor complimented my conductors for their zeal and attention to the safety of the Republic. My persecutors, in some little dudgeon, now left me, while the crowd returned with me to the

waterside. Here, to my inexpressible surprise, I found everything in my boat exactly as I had left it —some bottles of wine, a little silver cup, my *nécessaire*, and a gold-headed cane—all safe, though at the mercy of hundreds, who, while they would without ceremony have tucked me up to the lamp-post, would not touch an article of my property.' [1]

Rowan arrived in safety at Rouen, where he had previously passed nearly two years, 1772 and 1773, and, after spending a few days, proceeded by land to Havre, where he embarked for America the beginning of June 1795. On July 16 Rowan was established at a boarding-house in Philadelphia, where several members of Congress boarded and lodged, among them the elder Adams and Jackson, subsequently President of the United States. Having determined on retiring into some country situation, he fixed on Wilmington, in the State of Delaware, about thirty miles from Philadelphia.

From the latter city he addressed his wife, August 1, 1795, and refers to his old friend Tone as then residing at Princetown:

'Mr. Tone has bought an hundred acres of ground. The situation is pleasant, and within two or three miles of Princetown, where there is a college and some good society.

'Tandy arrived here about a fortnight or three weeks since; he has got a lodging in the same house with me, and of course we mess together; but I

[1] *Autobiography of A. H. Rowan*, p. 243.

need not tell you that his society does not make up for what I have lost, perhaps never to regain.'

'*September* 11.—Tone seems determined to return, and Reynolds wishes it sincerely, but amuses himself with the politics of America, and is as busy, as sincere, and as zealous as he was in Kilmainham.'

Rowan was obliged, in deference to his friends in Ireland, who were interfering for him, and in compliment to Mrs. Rowan's opinions, to write home letters which could be shown to persons in authority. Thus we find him, in February 1796, apologising in a letter to Mrs. Rowan for his political sentiments. 'As to my sentiments,' says he, 'they have been always nearly the same, as far as I can remember. The fact is, that from education and principle, I was led to assert and attempt to support a reform of Parliament, and equal liberty to all religious sects. Association may have, and certainly did lead me more into an active life than I wished, was fit for, or will ever, in any case on this side of eternity, fall into again.'

In one of his letters Rowan refers to the generous conduct of two celebrated lords, for the protection which his family experienced after his escape: 'As to the *ex-officio* prosecution under which I had been previously sentenced to two years' imprisonment in Newgate, the being in custody eventually saved my life, and my wife's prudent conduct not only enabled her to pay the fine of 500*l.* which had been laid on me, but also facilitated my return to Ireland. I am

convinced that no modification in the circumstances of my civil existence would have taken place if Lord Castlereagh had opposed it. But I am bound in gratitude to the memory of Lord Clare to say that I am equally certain that my family retained my property after my outlawry, and that I owe my pardon after his decease to his previous interference in my behalf. However, although he did not afford me any previous assistance, Lord Castlereagh was very attentive to my different applications to him during two years nearly that I remained in London, while the scruples of the Lord Chancellor delayed the ratification of my pardon. In this interval he offered to place one of my sons in the College of Marlow, and gave him a commission in the Company's service, which, though not accepted, ought not to be forgotten.'

'The year after my arrival in America,' says Rowan, 'but before I had made any essay towards independence, I received a letter from a most valued and sincere friend in Ireland, Richard Griffith, Esq., though of very different political sentiments, advising me to petition Government for a pardon; and he sent me a sketch of such a petition as *he* thought would restore me with honour to my friends and country, but which I could not subscribe.'

Mrs. Rowan, finding that the hope of a free pardon at that time must be abandoned, used all the interest in her power to procure permission for her husband to quit America, and to go to any country

not at war with Great Britain. Mr. Griffiths warmly seconded her efforts, by writing to the Lord Chancellor, and calling him repeatedly to urge her suit. To the Chancellor's honour be it recorded, that he always evinced a cordial sympathy in the sufferings of Mrs. Rowan and her family. At length, in September 1799, she received the following letter from Lord Castlereagh, with whom Mr. Rowan's father was well acquainted :

'Dublin Castle, September 9, 1799.

'Madam,—My Lord-Lieutenant having, by desire of the Lord Chancellor, stated to his Grace the Duke of Portland that Mr. Hamilton Rowan was anxious to proceed to Denmark from America, but that he was afraid he might be apprehended in his passage by one of his Majesty's cruisers, I am directed to acquaint you that, in consequence of the favourable report made by the Lord Chancellor of Mr. Rowan's conduct since he resided in America, he will be secured (as far as his Majesty's Government is concerned) in the refuge which may be granted to him in Denmark or elsewhere, as long as he continues to demean himself in such a manner as not to give offence.

'I have the honour to be, Madam,

'Your most obedient servant,

'CASTLEREAGH.'

At last it was determined that Rowan should go to Hamburg ; and accordingly he lost no time in

making preparation for his departure ; and sailed for Europe in July, 1800. After a short stay in Hamburg, where he found himself incommoded a good deal with 'fools and knaves,' he proceeded to Altona, where there were many English and Irish residents and French emigrants of high rank. There he rented and furnished a handsome house. Having letters of introduction to many opulent merchants, both German and English, he soon found himself with his family in the midst of a pleasant society. From Sir G. Rombald, who succeeded Sir James Crawfurd at Hamburg, he received every mark of kind and polite attention. Here he remained till the year 1803 ; and in the interval various exertions were made by his friends to procure his pardon. In the latter part of April 1803 he received a communication from Lord Castlereagh, informing him of the intention of the Cabinet to recommend to the King to grant him a pardon, but prohibiting his going to Ireland without his Majesty's permission, and entering into recognisance, which it was usual to require in similar cases.

'Having arrived in London on June 16,' says Rowan, 'I went the next day to the Secretary of State's office. He introduced me to Mr. Pollock, who showed me the King's warrant for pardon, which contained all the beneficial clauses of re-grant, &c., and was as full in every respect as it could be, excepting the condition of requiring two sureties for 10,000*l.* not to go to Ireland. Mr. Pollock said one week would be suffi-

cient to pass the different offices, and Mr. Steele requested him to attend to it, and as soon as the document was returned to his office, to inform him, and he, with my friend Mr. Griffith, offered to become my sureties.

'My agent arrived from Ireland, bringing with him the opinions of eminent counsel, which all agreed that a pardon under the Great Seal of Britain alone would avail me no otherwise than as to my personal liberty in England.'

While these efforts were being made in England, the opinion of counsel was taken as to the mode of accomplishing the desired object. Two of the most eminent men at the Irish bar gave an opinion that a pardon under the Great Seal of England alone would only avail Rowan for his personal liberty in England. The Under-Secretary of the Lord-Lieutenant furnished Mr. Rowan's friends with a copy of the opinion of the Crown lawyers :

'Dublin Castle, October 27, 1803.

'We are of opinion that the pardon to Mr. Hamilton Rowan ought to be passed under the Great Seal of Ireland ; and we apprehend it is irregular in Mr. Rowan to solicit such pardon and the restitution of his lands in Ireland in the first instance, and that such application ought to be made to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant.

(Signed) 'Standish O'Grady.
'W. C. Plunkett.'

Acting on this opinion, when Hamilton Rowan was eventually pardoned in 1806, and obtained permission to reside in Ireland, he attended at the Court of King's Bench, and publicly pleaded the King's pardon.

Among the numerous persons who congratulated him on his pardon, were many of his political opponents, who expressed their satisfaction publicly and privately at seeing him restored to his family and his country. 'Lords Carysfort, Castlereagh, and Carhampton were foremost in expressions of kindness.' Lord Clare was not then living, or his congratulations, in Rowan's opinion, would have been joined with those of the noblemen just named.

He returned to Ireland in 1806, on the death of his father, and fixed his residence in the old castle of Killyleagh, on his own estate in the county Down. Rowan now figured in the character of a good citizen, a good landlord, a good father of a family. The great business of his life was to be useful to those who were connected with him as tenants, labourers, and servants; to promote the internal peace and concord of the country. He became the poor man's friend of the locality—the generous encourager of the manufacturers of Dublin, especially of the poor weavers of the liberties of the city.

Rowan, from various passages in his correspondence in 1799, would seem to have been a strenuous supporter of the Union.

The inconsistency of his conduct in this matter

was more apparent than real. In 1794 we find him acting in concert, in Ireland, with an emissary of the French Government, whose treasonable mission was directed towards the separation of Ireland from England. In 1795 we find him in America furnishing Tone with means of access to the French Government, with the same views as in the preceding year. But in 1799 all chance of reasonable expectation of a revolution in Ireland was gone. In these altered circumstances of the country he saw nothing for Ireland but a union, and believed a real *bonâ-fide* union, beneficial to both countries, was intended. In 1799 he writes to a member of his family on this subject :

'I congratulate you upon the report which spreads here that a union is intended. In that measure I see the downfall of one of the most corrupt assemblies, I believe, that ever existed, and instead of an empty title, a source of industrious enterprise for the people, and the wreck of feudal aristocracy.'

March 15, 1799, he writes to Mrs. Rowan :

'I begin to think that the only question a poor man should ask himself is, "Under what Government shall I work least, get most, and keep what I get ?" In this view, to use an American term, I would advocate an union in Ireland, which will throw work into the cabin, and take *triple* taxes and *tenth* of income, &c., &c., out of the rich man's house. In future times, however, I have no doubt but a mode will be adopted better than any now known, and I

am fortified in this opinion from the great probability of a convulsion in this country, which has certainly, theoretically, the most free Government existing. . . .'

Of the cause of 'Catholic Emancipation' he was always a strenuous advocate. He thought the success of that great question absolutely necessary to the tranquillity of Ireland; and in 1824, when he sent his subscription to the 'Rent,' he accompanied it with a letter expressive of his hopes and wishes. A resolution that both should be entered on the minutes was 'adopted with a zeal and enthusiasm that had never been exceeded in that body.'

Domestic trials and afflictions fell heavily on this venerable man in 1834.

Mrs. Rowan died, after a protracted illness, on February 26 in that year. In less than six months from the time of this excellent lady's decease, Rowan had to deplore the loss of his only surviving and eldest son, the gallant Captain Hamilton. From the time of the death of his only son, his health rapidly declined. The constant care and attention of his two daughters, Miss Rowan and Mrs. Fletcher, sustained him for a short time; but the loneliness of his life, the death of that great hope which was centred in his eldest-born, and the dreariness of the house, seemed to weigh more heavily on his enfeebled strength. He died on November 1, 1834, at the age of eighty-four years, having survived his beloved wife nine months, his gallant son only as many weeks, and a daughter, Mrs. Beresford, rather more than a year.

Rowan died in communion with the Unitarian Church, by whose members, in common indeed with the members of all churches in his native city, he was held in the highest honour. His remains were interred in a vault in St. Mary's Church.

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WILLIAM THEOBALD WOLFE TONE

CHAPTER VI.

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE.

Parentage—Education—Marriage—Contributor to magazines—Called to the bar—Founds the Society of United Irishmen—Republican principles—Catholic convention—Rejection of petition—Thomas Russell—French proposals—Jackson's mission—Tone arrives in Philadelphia—Mission to France—Interview with Carnot—General Hoche—Narrow escape.

The subject of this memoir was the son of Peter Tone, a coachmaker, who carried on an extensive business in that line for some years at No. 44, Stafford Street, Dublin. His grandfather was a farmer in the county Kildare. The land, which he held on freehold leases, was part of the estate of Mr. Wolfe, of Blackhall, and lies between Sallins and Clane, within a few minutes' walk of the remains of the ruined church and the ancient burying-ground of Bodenstown. A part of the old dwelling-house of the Tones is yet standing, in sight of the mansion of the Wolfes of Blackhall. Peter Tone's father was killed in 1766, by a fall from a corn-stack; his eldest son, Peter, who had established himself in his business in Dublin, the same year came into possession of the farm, said to be worth about 300*l.* a year, which he rented to a

younger brother of his, Jonathan, a retired lieutenant of the 22nd regiment of foot.

Another brother, Matthew, was brought up to the same business as Peter, and in 1784 had a coach-making establishment at No. 126, Great Britain Street.

Peter Tone married, about 1761, a Miss Lamport, or Lambert, of Drogheda, the daughter of a captain of a merchant vessel in the West India trade. The farm near Clane, which he rented to his younger brother, became a source of contention and litigation between the brothers, which ended in a Chancery suit, and, as a matter of course, in the ruin of the litigants. Peter Tone became insolvent, quitted Dublin, and in 1786 was living near Clane on the property that was about to pass away from him and his family. Of sixteen children of Peter Tone, five were then living:—Theobald Wolfe, called after Mr. Theobald Wolfe, the lord of the manor (a near relation of Lord Kilwarden), born in Dublin, June 20, 1763; William, born in 1764; Matthew, in 1771; Mary, probably three or four years later; and Arthur, in 1782.

Theobald, William, and Matthew were sent to an excellent English school in Dublin, kept by Sisson Darling. Theobald, after continuing at this school for three years, was removed to another, kept in Henry Street, by the Rev. William Craig. In 1781 he entered Trinity College, under the Rev. Matthew Young. A rage for the military profession, nurtured

and fomented by attendance at reviews, parades, and field exercises, had taken possession of Tone previously even to his having entered college. Before he was nineteen he had gone out as second with a college lad of the name of Foster, who shot a fellow-pupil of the name of Anderson through the head.

There is a passage in Tone's diary, which has been omitted in the 'Memoirs of his Life' by his son (and properly so by him), which, however, before the publication of Tone's memoirs in America, had found its way into a portion of the autobiography of Tone, that had been transmitted from America, and was published in the 'New Monthly Magazine,' 1824. I refer to the passage which relates to Tone's early passion for theatricals, as throwing much light on the style of his journals, and the extraordinary exuberance of memory and liveliness of imagination exhibited in the ready application of apposite citations from the popular dramatic writers of the day to passing occurrences. It appears that in 1783 and 1784 T. W. Tone had formed an acquaintance with a lady of rank and great personal attractions, Lady B., and, in his opinion, 'of extraordinary talents for the stage,' which she displayed in a private theatre fitted up in her own house. Tone being, in his own words, 'somewhat of an actor,' took a part in the representations, became a constant visitor at the house, and at length, unfortunately, an enamoured guest.

The private theatricals were brought to a close,

which had nearly proved of a tragic character, and Tone never beheld the lady more. But 'no human passion,' he said, 'is proof against time and absence,' and so it proved to be in his case. In 1785 he married a young creature, not sixteen years of age, 'as beautiful as an angel,' Matilda Witherington, whose sister, at a later period, wed *the Thomas Reynolds* of secret service money celebrity. Tone, having taken out his degree of bachelor of arts, resigned his scholarship in the university, and began the study of law. He had obtained three premiums at college, and as many medals from the Historical Society, of which he was an auditor, and one of its most distinguished ornaments. His intimacy with his wife's family having been interrupted, he quitted Dublin with his wife and went to reside with his father in Kildare.

In 1787 he proceeded to London, to enter his name as a student of law in the Temple. He took chambers in the Temple, at No. 4 Hare Court, and contrived to maintain himself partly by contributing to the magazines. Several reviews of new publications in the 'European Magazine' of 1787–78 were written by him. He likewise wrote a satirical novel called 'Belmont Castle,' burlesquing the style of writers of romance, in conjunction with two of his friends, Jebb and Ratcliffe.

At the Temple he made the acquaintance of the Honourable George Knox, son of Lord Northland, one of his future most attached friends. Instead of

studying Coke and Blackstone, poor Tone's head was still running on military matters. The scheme occurred to him of establishing, on a military plan, a colony in one of the South Sea Islands, newly discovered. He drew up a memorial recommending the adoption of his proposal, and addressed it to Mr. Pitt, with the intention, if adopted, of embarking in this project. Mr. Pitt took no notice of the project or the projector.

Tone's circumstances became so embarrassed in London, and his wife's friends had so deceived him with regard to her promised fortune, that he embraced the desperate resolution of enlisting as a common soldier in the East India Company's service. He proceeded to the India House with that resolution, and was informed that the season for sending out troops was past, and no more ships would be despatched until the beginning of the year following. He had now been two years at the Temple, and had kept eight terms, but as to law, 'knowing exactly as much about it as he did of necromancy.' An arrangement with his wife's family enabled him to return to Dublin. He purchased a law library, and took lodgings in Clarendon Street in January 1789, and in the Trinity Term of that year was called to the bar.

In the same year a decree in Chancery, instituted by his uncle Jonathan, gave the '*coup de grâce* to his father's affairs'; all his property was sold, including two houses in Stafford Street and one on

Summer Hill. Soon after the event, Peter Tone obtained a situation in the Paving Board, which he retained to the period of his death. Theobald no sooner entered on his profession than he embarked in politics. His first pamphlet, in defence of the Opposition and the Whig Club, 'A Review of the Last Sessions of Parliament,' had some success.

Overtures were now made to him by the friends of Mr. Ponsonby, and by some leading members of the Whig party, to attach himself to them, and to promote the interest of the latter.

But no cordial union took place between Tone and the Whigs; indeed, it was impossible there could be any identity of operations, for there was no identity of principles, of views, or feelings between them. Tone set out in politics with the axiom of Swift and Molyneux, that 'the influence of England was the radical vice of Irish government.' The Whigs acted on the principle that the influence was salutary, but the mode of exerting it was pernicious to a certain extent, which could be remedied by diminishing pensions, abolishing some places, limiting the prerogative, rescinding penal statutes, and demolishing the outworks of corruption in the representative system. Tone 'looked on the little politics of the Whig Club with great contempt.' His next pamphlet, on the appearance of a war with Spain, was intended to prove that Ireland was not bound by the declaration of war made by England, but might and ought to stipulate for a neutrality. The publisher, Byrne, suppressed

the pamphlet as one of a dangerous tendency, 'for which his own gods damn him,' says the writer of it.

In the summer of 1790, Tone took a little cottage, in consequence of his wife's delicate state of health, at Irishtown, where, in a small circle of friends, the opinions were discussed, extended, and fortified, which had so important an influence on the state of Ireland a few years later.

The parties to those discussions were his friend Thomas Russell, whose acquaintance he had made a short time previously in the gallery of the House of Commons; the venerable father of the latter, Captain Russell; occasionally his own brother William, from the county Kildare, who resided with his father at Clane; and Matthew, who had lately set up a cotton manufactory at Prosperous. In this year, with Russell's assistance, Tone drew up, and addressed to Lord Granville, an enlarged plan of his former scheme for the establishment of a military settlement in one of the Sandwich Islands, which 'he still thought might be attended with the most beneficial consequences to England.' Louis-Philippe, half a century later, showed he entertained a similar opinion of the utility of such a settlement to France.

In the winter of 1790 Tone instituted a political club, composed of some remarkable men, including Messrs. Drennan, Stack, Pollock, Burrowes, John Whitley Stokes, and T. A. Emmett, 'the first of his (Tone's) friends.' The club did not go on prosper-

ously ; it died a natural death in a few months. In 1791, August 1, Tone published a pamphlet, called 'An Argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, by a Northern Whig.' Ten thousand copies were struck off in Belfast, and another edition in Dublin. This was one of the ablest productions in favour of the claims of Catholics that had yet appeared, and it has not been equalled by any subsequent vindication of them.

This pamphlet made Tone known advantageously in the north ; and in October of that year he was invited to Belfast by the volunteers of that town, whither he proceeded, in company with Russell, and, in conjunction with Neilson and others, founded the first club which took the name of the Society of United Irishmen. He then returned to Dublin, and, in conjunction with James Napper Tandy and the Honourable Simon Butler, formed a similar society in the capital. In the spring of 1792, the Catholic Committee appointed Tone to the office of agent to their body, with the title of assistant-secretary, then vacant by the resignation of Richard Burke, with a salary of 200*l.* per annum. Tone's exertions in his new office were incessant and invaluable to the Catholics. His pen was never idle in writing addresses, manifestoes, and resolutions in favour of their cause. On July 14, 1799, Tone assisted at Belfast, in his volunteer uniform, in the celebration of the success of the French Revolution, and commemoration of the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, when about

six thousand volunteers and inhabitants voted an address of congratulation to the French people. In December 1782, the Catholic convention, under the name of the General Committee, assembled in Dublin. The scheme of this convention, which produced such extraordinary results, had been devised by Myles Keon, of Keon Brook, in the county of Leitrim; but the energy, activity, talent, and intrepidity which carried it into practical effect, through innumerable difficulties, party opposition, paltry fears, and base acts of perfidy on the part of *soi-disant* friends and advocates of the cause, were exhibited by T. W. Tone. With respect to his political views, when he formed the Northern and Leinster Societies of United Irishmen, he says 'he thinks it right to mention that at this time the establishment of a republic was not the immediate object of his speculations; his object was to secure the independence of his country under any form of government,' &c.

But in the course of eighteen months he gave practical proof of his opinions being in favour of republicanism, and indeed, from the commencement of his career, they seem to have been in that direction.

The first important movement of the Catholic leaders, the most important ever made by them, was the carrying into execution the plan of taking the sense of all the Catholics of Ireland through the means of a convention. The project of appointing delegates for this purpose had been adopted at a

meeting of the general committee on March 17, 1792. The plan devised by Keon, and proposed by Theobald Wolfe Tone, according to Mr. Wyse, was in some respects analogous to one devised by his father in 1760. Wyse's Catholic convention was to be a secret convocation of delegates; they were to hold their hole-and-corner meetings wherever it was possible to escape detection. Tone's Catholic convention was to hold its sittings in face of day, in the metropolis, with all possible publicity; and when the delegates were appointed to carry over the petition to the King, Tone's influence, and his sense of the important part he had played in bringing this project into execution, had the effect of parading the delegates through the North of Ireland, *on their way to London from Dublin.*

At Belfast, the five delegates, Messrs. Keogh, Byrne, Devereux, Bellew, and French, were received with public honours; the horses were taken from their carriage, and entertainments given them by the leading members of the United Irish Society.

The earliest meeting of the delegates was in Taylor's Hall, Back Lane, Dublin, on December 2, 1792, on which occasion Dr. M'Neven first distinguished himself as an advocate of the claims of the great majority of his countrymen.

The Catholic convention of December 1792 was then virtually the work of Theobald Wolfe Tone. The power on which its leaders relied for resisting the opposition of the ascendency party, and daring to

take so formidable a step, was the spreading influence of the northern societies, based on the principle of uniting Irishmen of all religious opinions.

On the presentation of the petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to the House, which was rejected by an overwhelming majority of 208 to 23, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Toler, plainly expressed his opinion, that 'the petition, though under a very modest guise, considering where it came from, he was inclined to suspect as a piece of the same principles' as those, he went on to state, 'which were taught by political quacks who tell us that radical reformation was necessary in Parliament. He had seen papers signed by Theobald M'Kenna, with Simon Butler in the chair, and Napper Tandy lending his countenance.' 'Such fellows' (to use the language of Lord Headfort) 'were too despicable to notice, and therefore he should not drag them from their obscurity.'

In a subsequent part of the debate, in disclaiming supposed personal allusions to an honourable member, he said 'he did not allude to him, but to that blasted society called United Irishmen.' Tone, at the time the establishment of a political society in Belfast had been determined on, had never been in that town; he was only known there as a writer whose pen had been employed in the service of the Whig Club and in behalf of the Catholics. In the spring of 1791, his friend Russell having been appointed to an ensigncy on full pay in the 64th regiment of foot, then

quartered in Belfast, visited that town, and became acquainted with many of the popular members of the Volunteer Association. At their instance he wrote to Tone to draw up a declaration, in which the Catholic question was to be noticed in favourable terms. Tone complied with this request, but when the declaration came to be read by the Belfast volunteers, the passage alluding to the settlement of the Catholic claims, 'for the sake of unanimity, was withdrawn for the present.'

This was the first connection of Tone with the politics of Belfast, and it probably recommended him to Neilson, and those who thought with him on the subject of Catholic emancipation. In the beginning of October 1791, Tone states that 'he was invited to spend a few days in Belfast, in order to assist in framing rules and declarations of the first club of United Irishmen, and to cultivate a personal acquaintance with those men whom, though he highly esteemed, he knew as yet but by reputation.'

In consequence of this invitation, he went down with his friend Russell (who at this time, having quitted the army, had returned to Dublin), and on arrival at Belfast, the persons whom he names as 'having some reasons to esteem himself particularly fortunate in forming connections with,' were Samuel Neilson, Robert and William Sims, William Sinclair, and Thomas M'Cabe, 'the men most distinguished for their virtue, talent, and patriotism.'

He proceeds to say: 'We formed our club, of

which I wrote the declaration, and certainly the formation of that club commenced a new epoch in the politics of Ireland.'

After remaining about three weeks in Belfast, Tone and Russell returned *with instructions* to cultivate the leaders in the popular interest, *being Protestants*, and, if possible, to form in the capital a club of United Irishmen. It is evident that the idea of forming the Society of United Irishmen originated with Samuel Neilson, met with the concurrence of Henry Joy M'Cracken and Thomas Russell, and was adopted by the Simses, M'Tier, M'Cabe, Hazlitt, and Sinclair ; that Tone reduced that plan into form, and acted at the outset, in the organisation of it, in accordance with the views previously taken up of those already named, and in connection, a little later, with other members of considerable influence from their wealth and station in the town.

In fact, strictly speaking, Samuel Neilson was the originator, and Tone the organiser, of the society, the framer of its declaration, and the pensman to whom the details of its formation were entrusted.

The object of Tone in assisting in the formation of the Belfast and Dublin societies is not to be mistaken ; he clearly announces it in his diary. In concluding the account of the part he took in the formation of the former, he plainly states, 'to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assist the independence of my country—these are my objects.' That Russell

was acquainted with his views, we have a proof in the letter addressed to him by Tone in the early part of 1791, which fell into the hands of the Government. Whatever the republican tendencies of Neilson and his associates may have been, the probability is, that although, if they had the power of choosing a form of government, they would have given the preference to a republic over any other, they had at the beginning no definite object beyond parliamentary independence, reform, and emancipation. Tone's influence in the Belfast societies suffered no diminution during his stay in Ireland, but in Dublin his republican opinions had a very different effect. With few exceptions, the principal leaders of the society which Tone had just formed were apprehensive of being committed by his opinions. He says: 'The club was scarcely formed before I lost all pretensions to anything like influence in their measures.'

A committee of correspondence was formed, the latter part of 1791, which consisted of Neilson, M'Tier, Hazlitt, and Sims. The chief business done was entering into communication with the Catholic committee, and soliciting the co-operation of the Dublin popular leaders. An erroneous impression generally prevails with respect to the direction of the affairs of the United Irish societies throughout the country. The Directory of the Leinster societies, the principal members of which, subsequently to 1796, were O'Connor, M'Neven, Emmett, Bond, and others of the Dublin leaders at different periods, it is commonly

supposed was the only one in existence ; such, however, is not the fact.

Ultimately there were four nominal directories, one for each of the provinces, but two only were regularly organised. The Ulster Directory was the first established. The principal members of the Ulster Directory were Samuel Neilson, two merchants of the name of Sims, and Dr. White. The Munster Directory was only in existence a short time before the suppression of the rebellion. The Connaught Directory was likewise of short duration, and its action was more limited than any of the others. The Ulster Directory was formed the beginning of 1795. In 1796, Oliver Bond was associated with its other members, and at a later period, Arthur O'Connor and Lord E. Fitzgerald.

The circumstances of the early existence of the Ulster Directory, and the emanation from it of the most important measures, subsequently taken up and attempted to be carried into effect by the Leinster Directory, is worthy of notice. These measures, it is generally imagined, originated with the latter.

Arthur O'Connor became a member of the Leinster Directory in November, 1796; Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Lord Cloncurry (I state on the authority of the latter), were nominated at the same time; T. A. Emmett was not appointed till January, 1797; and Dr. W. J. M'Neven about the same period. 'None of them were members of the united systems previously to September or October, 1796.'

In November 1796, Arthur O'Connor, accompanied by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, visited Belfast, on the occasion of the former offering himself as a candidate for the representation of the county of Antrim. They took a house in the immediate vicinity of Belfast, and resided there for some months. During their stay, their intercourse with the Belfast leaders prepared the way for the combined action of the Dublin and northern societies. But long previously to their arrival, foreign aid for the accomplishment of their designs was contemplated by both societies.

It had long been the custom to attribute every popular movement in Ireland to the influence of French politics. There can be no doubt that it was the object of France to keep alive the fear of invasion both in England and in Ireland, to exhaust by all possible means the resources of the country, and to waste its energies in preparations for resisting invasions, which, with the exception of Conflam's meditated descent, for nearly two hundred years prior to 1796, had no existence but in the minds of the enemies of the King's peace, and of his people in Ireland. M'Skimmin asserts that an early treasonable intercourse was kept up between Ireland and France, and that the Defenders had sought French aid.

In the autobiography of A. H. Rowan, it is certainly stated that about December 1792 an offer was sent from the French Convention, directed 'to

the popular leaders in Ireland,' stating that they would deposit in any bank in Europe the pay of 40,000 men for six months, on the condition that the Irish would declare an absolute independence of England; but the agent appears to have met with no encouragement. In M'Neven's 'Pieces of Irish History,' the same circumstance is also repeated, and its occurrence is dated 'the summer of 1793.' In the report of the Commons' Secret Committee it is stated 'that, previous to the summer of 1796, no formal and authorised communication appears to have taken place between the Irish executive and the French Government, though Jackson had been sent by the latter to Ireland in 1794.'

In the summer of 1796, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, accompanied by O'Connor, proceeded by Hamburg to Switzerland, and O'Connor, who entered France without his companion, had an interview with General Hoche, the object of his mission being to apply for assistance in men and arms from the French Directory. In March 1797, Lewins was sent to France as the accredited agent of the Irish Union. In June 1797, a second agent, Dr. M'Neven, was despatched with the necessary credentials to the French minister at Hamburg, with increased earnestness, urging their application on the French Government, and instructed to negotiate, if possible, a loan of 500,000*l.*, or at least 300,000*l.* The force solicited was one not exceeding 10,000, nor less than 5,000, with 40,000 stand of arms, and the assistance

of such Irish officers as were then in the French service.

In April 1794 the Rev. William Jackson, an emissary of the French, arrived in Dublin, accompanied by Mr. John Cockayne, a London solicitor of Lyons' Inn, on a treasonable mission. He had received his instructions from an Irishman, named Madgett, long settled in France, and employed in the office of the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Jackson had been residing in Paris—a man verging on fifty-six or fifty-eight years of age, of ruined fortune, unfitted for his profession, and without hopes of any preferment in it. His treasonable mission extended to England, and commenced in that country.

He was furnished in Paris with letters of introduction to John Horne Tooke and a Dr. Crawford; these, however, for some unexplained reason, had not been delivered by him. His mission, as far as England was concerned, was unfavourable to the objects he had in view, and he wrote to that effect letters, addressed to Mr. John Stone and Mr. Benjamin Beresford, both engaged in commercial affairs in Paris, cognizant of his mission, and in communication, it would appear, with the French Government. Mr. Beresford was married to a sister of Archibald Hamilton Rowan.

Cockayne had been an old friend and legal adviser of Jackson, and possessed the entire confidence of the latter, and thus had the secret of Jackson's treasonable mission communicated to him.

Cockayne, from motives of loyalty, as he alleged, lost no time in turning his old friend and client to some account, communicated Jackson's secret mission to Mr. Pitt, and stipulated to be guaranteed against losses he might incur, to the extent of 300*l.* Cockayne was a prudent as well as a loyal attorney. Jackson owed him, as he subsequently stated, from 250*l.* to 300*l.*; and as he must lose the amount of this debt if his old friend and client the debtor was hanged, he discreetly secured himself, and had Mr. Pitt pledged to the indemnity.

By Mr. Pitt's instructions, Cockayne accompanied Jackson to Ireland on his mission of treason, with a free pardon in his pocket, as far as he (Cockayne) was concerned, for all acts of treason that might be done by him while engaged on that mission—attending Jackson, watching all his movements, and allowing him full scope for communication with all parties in Ireland he chose to communicate with. Jackson brought with him a letter of introduction to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, of which fact the Government appear to have had no knowledge, and Tone in his journals makes no allusion to it.

That Jackson was wholly unexpected by the popular leaders in Dublin may be inferred from the circumstance that Tone and others of his party at first were disposed to believe that Jackson was an agent of the British Government. In a copy of Emmett's and M'Neven's 'Pieces of Irish History,' purchased at the sale of Hamilton Rowan's library,

the following manuscript note, in the handwriting of Rowan, occurs at the bottom of the page where mention is made of Jackson's mission: 'Lord Edward Fitzgerald declined to have any conversation with Jackson.' Arthur O'Connor stated to me that he had no communication with him.

But Cockayne and his dupe were not dependent on Lord Edward Fitzgerald or O'Connor for access to the leaders of the United Irishmen. Cockayne had the advantage of acquaintance and relation, *in the way of business* too, with a very popular, pleasant, *patriotic* barrister of the name of Leonard M'Nally.

'The counsellor' hung loosely on the skirts of the Society of United Irishmen and the Catholic Committee. He was a social gentleman, greatly given to punning and saying smart things of equivocal meaning, an excellent companion, a good fellow, in Ireland; in France, *diseur de bons mots, mauvais homme.*

M'Nally dallied gaily with sedition, yet always with discretion and impunity. But it was otherwise with his associates—few pleasant gentlemen had ever to lament the untimely fate and premature loss of a greater number of hanged friends than Counsellor Leonard M'Nally.

M'Nally and Cockayne had been old acquaintances; their intimacy had commenced at the Inns of Court in England, when the former was keeping his terms there. M'Nally had been employed as an electioneering agent in Lord Hood's celebrated contest for Westminster, and in that capacity Cockayne

and he had come in contact on several occasions; and it is well deserving of notice that Cockayne, in his evidence on Jackson's trial, admitted incautiously that Jackson, as well as himself, had formerly known Mr. M'Nally in London.

The Attorney-General, in his opening speech on the trial of Jackson, said: 'Mr. Cockayne, at the desire of Mr. Pitt, consented to accompany Jackson, in order to render abortive his wicked purposes. Towards the end of March, Mr. Jackson set out for Dublin, accompanied by Mr. Cockayne; they arrived on April 1, 1794; they lodged at a house called Hyde's Coffee-House, at the corner of Palace Row (*Palace Street, Dame Street*), and it appears that Jackson in a day or two after his arrival made an acquaintance, or renewed an old one, with a gentleman of the name of Leonard M'Nally. Mr. M'Nally, merely, no doubt, from the hospitality in which Irishmen are never deficient, invited the two strangers to dine with him, and, as a man of manners always does, he selected an agreeable company to meet them. Mr. Simon Butler and a Mr. Lewins were among others present at this entertainment.'

Thus, within a few days of their arrival in Dublin, we find Jackson, Cockayne, the Hon. Simon Butler, and Mr. Lewins, an incipient attorney, nephew of one of the most eminent of the Catholic leaders, and most obnoxious to Government, Thomas Branghall (that Lewins the future accredited agent of the United Irishmen at Paris), dining with 'the

counsellor' at his abode, No. 57 Dominick Street. Cockayne, in his evidence on the trial of Jackson, in reference to this dinner at M'Nally's, deposed: 'The conversation turned on the general politics of the day, and also the politics relative to the Irish nation. I cannot swear what Mr. M'Nally said, or what Mr. Lewins said, or what Mr. Butler said; they were all in conversation.'

Lewins subsequently introduced Jackson to Rowan. After that meeting Jackson and Cockayne went to breakfast with Rowan; Jackson said Tone was to be there. At the meeting none were present but Tone, Rowan, Jackson, and Cockayne. The conversation was of a plan to send somebody to France. Mr. Tone was asked to go. 'At one time Tone said he would go, at another he receded. He gave his reasons for agreeing to go and for receding.'

At another meeting at Rowan's saw Dr. Reynolds; thinks he saw Tone twice. At one meeting it was proposed that Reynolds should go to France to carry some instruction to the French.

This was when Tone left Dublin abruptly, without saying whether he would or would not go. Jackson said to him (Cockayne) he did not so much approve of Reynolds as Mr. Tone. Reynolds's proposed errand to France was the same as Tone's—'to carry a paper there to the French Convention. The paper was drawn up in Newgate.[1] The paper was in the hands of Tone, and it was read by him and Rowan.'

[1] At this time Rowan was in Newgate for publishing a seditious libel.

The treasonable paper referred to by Cockayne was delivered by Tone to Jackson, but no sooner delivered than it was demanded by Tone, when he reflected on the imprudence of his act. He, however, gave it on the spot to Rowan, and authorised him to take a copy of it. At his next interview he says he discovered that Rowan had taken two or three copies of the paper and given them to Jackson, and was informed by Rowan that he had burned the original. Rowan, however, states he gave back the original to Tone.

On April 24, 1794, Jackson wrote a letter, signed Thomas Popkins, to Mr. Beresford, and procured Cockayne to copy it, wherein he says:

'You are requested to see Madgett directly, and inform him that this evening the opinion of two eminent counsel are sent to him.' The opinion referred to was Tone's 'Memoir of Ireland,'[1] revised by Rowan.

Four days later, on April 28, 1794, Jackson was arrested on a charge of treason, and in due course was tried and convicted; he anticipated his doom in twelve months from the date of his arrest, on April 30, 1795.

The first intimation which Tone received of the discovery of his connection with Jackson was communicated by a friend opposed to his political principles, but strongly attached to him; for no man

[1] The *Memoir of Ireland* was a representation of the state of the country, drawn up by Tone for the use of the French Government.

appears ever to have had personal qualities more calculated to attach people to him. Tone was spending the evening at the house of the father of a young friend of his in Merrion Square; he and his companion were playing duets. Tone was passionately fond of music, though a very indifferent performer on his favourite instrument, the flute. A servant brought a letter for Tone, with orders to deliver it into his own hand. Tone read the letter, and said to his companion 'Phil, we must finish this duet; I must go when it is done.' He went away, and the following day the Hon. George Knox, the son of Lord Northland, called on their mutual friend at Merrion Square. Knox inquired if Tone had received a note he had forwarded to him, and which the servant, not finding him at home, had taken to his (C.'s) house. On hearing it had reached Tone, Knox said: 'Well, I suppose you will blame me; I have had a struggle between friendship to that man and the duty I owed to those I am connected with. (Knox then held some official situation.) I learned at the Castle that he was implicated in Jackson's treason, and that his life was in jeopardy, and I determined on apprising him of his danger, and giving him timely notice to escape. I felt,' said Knox, 'that politics were things of a day, but friendship was a matter that was for ever.'

Powerful influence was exercised by Tone's friends with the Government on his behalf, and with such success that no criminal proceedings against

him were instituted. He was required, however, to quit the country, but ample time was allowed him to make the necessary arrangements for his departure. During Lord Fitzwilliam's administration of the Government in Ireland, Tone was not troubled by Government; Mr. Grattan, indeed, remonstrated with the Catholic Committee on their 'retaining in the service a man so obnoxious and so deeply compromised.' Tone, it is to be remembered, had mortally offended the Whig leaders by refusing his services as a pamphleteer to them.

The Government of Lord Fitzwilliam's successor, however, lost no time in notifying to Tone the urgent necessity of his fulfilment of the engagement he had entered into to quit the kingdom. He accordingly prepared for expatriation, and set out for Belfast with his family, but not before engagements were entered into by him with Thomas Addis Emmett, Richard M'Cormick, and John Keogh, which afforded a prospect of his speedy return to Ireland. His last interview with Thomas Addis Emmett was soon after the conviction and death of the unfortunate Jackson. Russell and he walked out together to Rathfarnham to see Emmett, who had a charming villa there. Tone on this occasion states he said to his friends Emmett and Russell, as they walked together into town, that, 'I consider my compromise with Government to extend no further than the banks of the Delaware, and the moment I landed I was free to follow any plan which might suggest itself to me

for the emancipation of my country. . . . They both agreed with me on those principles, and I then proceeded to tell them that my intention was, immediately on my arrival in Philadelphia, to wait on the French minister, to detail to him fully the situation of affairs in Ireland, to endeavour to obtain a recommendation to the French Government, and if I succeeded so far, to leave my family in America and set off instantly for Paris, and apply, in the name of my country, for the assistance of France to enable us to assert our independence. It is unnecessary, I believe, to say that this plan met the warmest approbation and support from both Russell and Emmett. We shook hands, and, having repeated our professions of unaltered regard and esteem for each other, we parted, and this was the last interview which I was so happy as to have with those two invaluable friends together.'

Tone set off from Dublin to Belfast on May 20, 1795, with his wife, sister, and three children. His worldly goods and property consisted of a well-selected library of 600 volumes, and about 700*l.* in money and bills on Philadelphia. He met with a reception from the principal people of Belfast that had more in it of an ovation than a simple manifestation of private affection and regard for an acquaintance or an associate about to depart—an exile about to leave home and friends for a distant land. On one occasion a party was made for him on the Cave Hill, near the town of Belfast, when, as he

informs us in his diary, 'Russell, Neilson (Robert), Sims, M'Cracken, and one or two more of us, on the summit of M'Arts' Fort, took a solemn obligation, which I think I may say I have on my part endeavoured to fulfil, never to desist in our efforts until we had subverted the authority of England over our country, and asserted her independence.'

On August 7 or 8, 1795, Tone arrived at Wilmington, on the Delaware, and thence proceeded to Philadelphia, where he found his old friends and associates in Jackson's affair, Hamilton Rowan and Dr. Reynolds. His designs were then opened to them. He stated to them 'his intention of waiting the next day on the French minister with such credentials as he had brought with him, which were the two votes of thanks of the Catholics, and his certificate of admission into the Belfast volunteers, engrossed on vellum, and signed by the chairman and secretaries; and he added that he would refer to them both for his credibility, in case the minister had any doubts.'

With a letter of introduction from Rowan for Citizen Adet, the French minister resident at Philadelphia, Tone waited on his Excellency in the high official character he had taken on him of representative of the Irish nation, and was received 'very politely.' The result of this first interview with the French minister was an intimation that a memorial, embodying all that was to be communicated on the subject of Ireland, should be prepared and sent in by

Tone, which was accordingly done in a few days. Several weeks, however, passed over, and nothing was heard of the memorial, except that it had been duly forwarded to the French Government, and Tone at last began to think 'there was an end of all his hopes.' His first intention was to purchase a farm, and with that view he proceeded to Westchester, about thirty miles from Philadelphia, and thence to Princeton in New Jersey, where he was in treaty for the purchase of a farm, hired a small house for the winter, and settled his family comfortably, 'beginning to think his lot was cast to be an American farmer.' But he was soon recalled from his agricultural speculations by letters of unmistakable import from Ireland, calling on him to redeem the pledge he had given in Emmett's garden at Rathfarnham, and on the summit of the Cave Hill, near Belfast.

Tone did not remain long in the United States. After communicating with Hamilton Rowan, and obtaining letters from him, and others, through his influence, to persons of importance in Paris, some of them in high official situations, the object of which introduction was to accredit him as a recognised agent of the leaders of the United Irishmen, he took his departure from New York, arrived at Havre on February 1, 1796, and proceeded immediately to Paris.

The particulars of Tone's mission are given in his own journal, with all the life and spirit for which even his most careless writings are remarkable. They are

mixed up, however, with a mass of irrelevant matter, that renders it difficult to keep important subjects referred to therein before the mind, in a clear and connected manner. I therefore extract the particular passages in the diary bearing on the important subject of his mission, from the date of his arrival in Paris—the beginning of February 1796—to that of the failure of the expedition which he accompanied to Bantry Bay—the latter end of December, the same year.

'*February* 15.—Went to Monroe's, the ambassador, and delivered in my passport and letters. Received very politely by Monroe, who inquired a great deal into the state of the public mind in America, which I answered as well as I could, and in a manner to satisfy him pretty well as to my own sentiments. I inquired of him where I was to deliver my despatches. He informed me at the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and gave me his address. I then rose and told him that when he had read B——'s letter (which was in cypher), he would, I hoped, find me excused in taking the liberty to call again. He answered, he would be happy at all times to see me, and, after he had enquired about Hamilton Rowan, how he liked America, &c., I took my leave, and returned to his office for my passport. The secretary smoked me for an Irishman directly. *À la bonne heure.* Went at three o'clock to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Rue du Bacq, 471. Delivered my passport, and inquired for someone who spoke English. Introduced imme-

diately to the Chef de Bureau, Lamare, a man of an exceedingly plain appearance.

'I showed him my letter, and told him I wished for an opportunity to deliver it into the minister's hands. He asked me, "would it not do if he took charge of it?" I answered, he undoubtedly knew the official form best, but, if it was not irregular, I should consider myself much obliged by being allowed to deliver it in person. He then brought me into a magnificent antechamber, where a general officer and another person were writing, and, after a few minutes' delay, I was introduced to the minister, Charles de la Croix, and delivered my letter, which he opened, and, seeing it in cypher, he told me, in French, he was much obliged to me for the trouble I had taken, and that the secretary would give me a receipt, acknowledging the delivery. I then made my bow and retired with the secretary, the minister seeing us to the door.

'*February* 16, 1796.—Set off for Madgett's and delivered my letter. Madgett delighted to see me; tells me he has the greatest expectation our business will be taken up in the most serious manner; that the attention of the French Government is now turned to Ireland, and that the stability and form it had assumed, gave him the strongest hopes of success; that he had written to Hamilton Rowan about a month since, to request I might come over instantly, in order to confer with the French Government and determine on the necessary arrangements,

and that he had done this by order of the French Executive. He then asked me had I brought any papers or credentials? I answered that I had only brought the letter of Adet to the Executive, and one to the American ambassador; that I had destroyed a few others on the passage, including one from Mr. Rowan to himself, as we were chased by a Bermudian; that, as to credentials, the only ones I had, or that the nature of the case would permit, I had shown to Adet on my first arrival in Philadelphia in August last. . . Madgett then said that was enough, especially as he had the newspapers containing the resolutions I mentioned, and the French Executive were fully apprised who I was.

'He then added that we should have ten sail of the line, any quantity of arms that were wanted, and such money as was indispensable, but that this last was to be used discreetly, as the demands for it on all quarters were so numerous and urgent; and that he thought a beginning might be made through America, so as to serve both Ireland and France. That is to say, that military stores might be sent through this channel from France to Ireland, purchased there by proper persons, and provisions, leather, &c., returned in neutral bottoms. I answered, this last measure was impracticable on account of the vigilance of the Irish Government, and the operation of the Gunpowder Act, which I explained to him. I then gave him a very short sketch of what I considered the state of Ireland, laying it down as a *positum* that

nothing effectual could be done there unless by a landing ; that a French army was indispensably necessary as a *point de ralliement* ; and I explained to him the grounds of my opinion.

'*February* 22.—Finished my memorial and delivered a fair copy, signed, to Madgett for the Minister of Foreign Relations. Madgett in the horrors. He tells me he has had a discourse yesterday for two hours with the minister, and that the succours he expected will fall very short of what he thought ; that the marine of France is in such a state that Government will not hazard a large fleet, and, consequently, that we must be content to steal a march ; that they will give us 2,000 of their best troops, and arms for 20,000 ; that they cannot spare Pichegru nor Jourdan ; that they will give any quantity of artillery, and, I think he added, what money might be necessary. He also said they would send proper persons among the Irish prisoners of war, to sound them, and exchange them on the first opportunity.

'To all this, at which I am not disappointed, I answered, that, as to 2,000 men, they might as well send twenty. That with regard to myself, I would go if they would send but a corporal's guard ; but that my opinion was, that 5,000 was as little as could be landed with any prospect of success, and that that number would leave the matter doubtful ; that if there could be an imposing force sent in the first instance, it would overbear all opposition, the nation

would be unanimous, and an immense effusion of blood and treasure would be spared. . . .

'*February* 23.—Quit Madgett, whom I believe *honest*, and whom I feel *weak*; go to Monroe; received very favourably. He has had my letter decyphered, and dropped all reserve. I told him I felt his situation was one of considerable delicacy, and therefore I did not wish to press upon him any information, relative either to myself or to my business, farther than he might desire. He answered that the letters had satisfied him, particularly that from H. R., of whom he spoke in terms of great respect, and that, as not responsible for what he might hear, but for what he might do, I might speak freely. I then opened myself to him without the least reserve, and gave him such details as I was able of the actual state of things, and of the grounds of my knowledge from my situation. I also informed him of what I had done thus far.

'He then addressed me in substance thus: "You must change your plan; I have no doubt whatever of the integrity and sincerity of the minister De la Croix, nor even of Madgett, whom I believe to be honest. But, in the first place, it is a subaltern way of doing business, and, in the next, the vanity of Madgett will be very likely to lead him, in order to raise his importance in the eyes of some of his countrymen, who are here as patriots, and of whom I have by no means the same good opinion as to integrity that I have of him, to drop some hint of what is

going forward. Go at once to the Directoire Exécutif and demand an audience ; explain yourself to them ; and, as to me, you may go so far as to refer to me for the authenticity of what you advance, and you may add that you have reason to think that I am in a degree apprised of the outline of your business." I mentioned *Carnot*, of whose reputation we had been long apprised, and who, I understood, spoke English. He said : "Nobody fitter, and that La Reveilliere Lepaux also spoke English ; that either would do." I then expressed a doubt whether, as I was already in the hands of Charles de la Croix, there might not be some indelicacy in my going directly to the Directoire Exécutif, and, if so, whether it might not be of disservice. He answered, By no means ; that in his own functions the proper person for him to communicate with was De la Croix ; but that, nevertheless, when he had any business of consequence, he went at once to the fountain head.

'*February* 24.—Went at 12 o'clock in a fright to the Luxembourg, conning speeches in execrable French all the way. . . . Arriving at the palace, mounted the stairs like a lion, went into the first bureau I found open, and demanded at once to see Carnot. The clerks stared a little, but I repeated my demand with a courage truly heroic ; on which they instantly submitted, and sent a person to conduct me. This happened to be his day for giving audience, which each member of the Executive Directory gave in his turn. Introduced by my guide into the ante-

chamber, which was filled with people—the officers of state in all their new costume. Wrote a line in English and delivered it to one of the huissiers, stating that a stranger, just arrived from America, wished to speak to Citizen Carnot on an affair of consequence. He brought me an answer in two minutes that I should have an audience. The folding doors were now thrown open, a bell being previously rung to give notice to the people that all who had business might present themselves, and Citizen Carnot appeared in the *petit costume* of white satin with crimson robe richly embroidered. He went round the room, receiving papers and answering those who addressed him. I told my friend the huissier, in marvellous French, that my business was too important to be transacted there, and that I would return on another day, when it would not be Carnot's turn to give audience, and when I should hope to find him at leisure. He mentioned this to Carnot, who ordered me instantly to be shown into an inner apartment, and that he would see me as soon as the audience was over. . . .

'I began my discourse by saying, in horrible French, that I had been informed he spoke English. "A little, sir; but I perceive you speak French, and, if you please, we will converse in that language." I answered, still in my jargon, that if he could have the patience to endure me, I would endeavour, and only prayed him to stop me, whenever I did not make myself understood. I then told him I was an Irishman;

that I had been secretary and agent to the Catholics of that country, who were about 3,000,000 of people; that I was also in perfect possession of the sentiments of the Dissenters, who were at least 900,000; and that I wished to communicate with him on the actual state of Ireland. He stopped me here to express a doubt as to the numbers being so great as I represented. I answered, a calculation had been made within these few years, grounded on the number of houses, which was ascertained for purposes of revenue; that, by that calculation, the people of Ireland amounted to 4,100,000, and it was acknowledged to be considerably under the truth. He seemed a little surprised at this, and I proceeded to state that the sentiments of all those people were unanimous in favour of France, and eager to throw off the yoke of England. He asked me then what they wanted. I said: "An armed force in the commencement, for a *point d'appui*, until they could organise themselves, and undoubtedly a supply of arms and some money." I added that I had already delivered in a memorial on the subject to the Minister of Foreign Relations, and that I was preparing another, which would explain to him in detail all that I knew on the subject, better than I could in conversation.

'He then said, "We shall see those memorials." The organiser of victory proceeded to ask me were there not some strong places in Ireland. I answered, I knew of none but some works to defend the harbour of Cork. He stopped me here, saying: "Ay, Cork;

but may it not be necessary to land there?" By which I perceived he had been *organising* a little already in his own mind. I answered, I thought not; that if a landing in *force* were attempted, it would be better near the capital, for obvious reasons: if with a small army, it should be in the north, rather than in the south of Ireland, for reasons which he would find in my memorials. He then asked me: "Might there not be some danger or delay in a longer navigation?" I answered, it would make a difference of two days, which was nothing in comparison of the advantages.

'I then told him that I came to France by the direction and concurrence of the men who (and here I was at a loss for a French word, with which, seeing my embarrassment, he supplied me) *guided* the two great parties I had mentioned; that I should not think I had discharged my duty either to France or Ireland if I left any measure unattempted which might draw the attention of the Directory to the situation of the latter country; and that, in consequence, I had presumed to present myself to him, and to implore his attention to the facts contained in the two memorials.

'I then rose, and, after the usual apologies, took my leave, but I had not cleared the antechamber, when I recollected a very material circumstance, which was, that I had not told him, in fact, *who*, but merely *what* I was; I was, therefore, returning on my steps, when I was stopped by the sentry, de-

manding my card; but from this dilemma I was extricated by my lover, the huissier, and again admitted. I then told Carnot that, as to my situation, credit, and the station I had filled in Ireland, I begged leave to refer him to James Monroe, the American ambassador. He seemed struck with this, and then, for the first time, asked my name. I told him, in fact, I had two names, my real one, and that under which I travelled and was described in my passport. I then took a slip of paper, and wrote the name "*James Smith, citoyen americain*," and under it, "Theobald Wolfe Tone," which I handed him, adding that my real name was the undermost. He took the paper, and, looking over it, said, "Ha! Theobald Wolfe Tone," with the expression of one who has just recollected a circumstance, from which little movement I augur good things. I then told him I would finish my memorial as soon as possible, and hoped he would permit me in the course of a few days after to present myself again to him; to which he answered, "By all means;" and so I again took my leave.

'*March* 14.—Went this day to the Luxembourg. I have the luck of going on the days that Carnot gives audience, and of course is most occupied; waited, however, to the last, when only one person remained beside myself. Carnot then called me over, and said, "You are an Irishman." I answered I was. "Then," said he, "here is almost a countryman of yours, who speaks English perfectly. He has the

confidence of Government; go with him, and explain yourself without reserve." I did not much like this referring me over: however, there was no remedy; so I made my bow, and followed my new lover to his hotel. He told me on the way that he was General Clarke; that his father was an Irishman; that he had himself been in Ireland, and had many relations in that country; he added (God forgive him if he exaggerated) that all the military arrangements of the Republic passed through his hands, and, in short, gave me to understand that he was at the head of the war department. By this time we arrived at the hotel where he kept his bureau, and I observed in passing through the office to his cabinet an immense number of boxes labelled, 'Armée du Nord, Armée des Pyrénées, Armée du Rhin,' &c., so that I was pretty well satisfied that I was in the right track. When we entered the cabinet, I told him in three words who and what I was, and then proceeded to detail at considerable length all I knew on the state of Ireland. This took up a considerable time; I suppose an hour and a half. He then began to interrogate me on some of the heads, in a manner which showed me that he was utterly unacquainted with the present state of affairs in Ireland, and particularly with the great internal changes which had taken place there within the last three or four years, which, however, is no impeachment of his judgment or talents.

'*March* 21, 1796.—In the course of conversation,

when I desired Clarke to count upon all the opposition which the Irish aristocracy, whether Protestant or Catholic, could give, he said he believed I was in the right; for that, since he saw me last, he had read over a variety of memorials on the subject of Irish affairs, which had been given in to the French Government forty years back, and they all supported my opinion as to that point. I answered, I was glad of it, but begged him not to build much on any papers above a very recent date; that the changes, even in France, were not much greater than in Ireland since 1789; that what was true of her ten or seven years ago, was not true now; of which there could not be a stronger instance than this, that if the French had landed during the last war, the Dissenters, to a man, and even the Catholics, would have opposed them; but then France was under the yoke, which she had since broken; that all the changes in the sentiments of the Irish people flowed from the Revolution in France, which they had watched very diligently; and that being the case, he would, I hope, find reason soon to believe that my opinion on the influence of the nobles and clergy was founded in fact. I then went on to observe that, about one hundred years ago, Louis XV. had an opportunity of separating Ireland from England, during the war between James II. and William III.; that, partly by his own miserable policy, and partly by the interested views of his minister, Louvois, he contented himself with feeding the war by little and little,

until the opportunity was lost, and that France had reason to regret it ever since; for, if Ireland had been made independent then, the navy of England would never have grown to what it is at this day. He said that was very true; and added, "that even in the last war, when the volunteers were in force, and a rupture between England and Ireland seemed likely, it was proposed in the French Council to offer assistance to Ireland, and overruled by the interest of Count de Vergennes, then prime minister, who received for that service a considerable bribe from England, and that he was informed of this by a principal agent in paying the money." So it seems we had a narrow escape of obtaining our independence fifteen years ago. . . . But, to return; Clarke asked me had I thought of subsisting the French troops after the landing, in case the executive decided in favour of the measure. I answered, I had not thought in detail on the subject, but there was one infallible mode which presented itself, which was requisition in all kinds of things necessary, adding, that he might be sure, whoever wanted, the army should not want, and especially our allies, if we were so fortunate as to obtain their assistance. He asked me, "Might not that disgust the people of property in Ireland?" I answered, the revolution was not to be made for the people of property, &c. . . .

'*July* 9.—If I have not passed almost six tedious months in France, I wonder at it. I am sure my country is much my debtor, if not for what I have

done, at least for what I have suffered on account of her liberty.

'Well, I do not grudge it to her, and if ever she is able she will reward me, and I think by that time I will have deserved it at her hands. To morrow I will go and see Clarke, and hear what he has to say for himself. He assures me, for I asked him a second time for greater certainty, that my friends in Ireland know I am here. I am heartily glad of it. I was dreaming all last night of Plunkett and Peter Burrows and George Knox, and I believe it is that which has thrown me into the blue devils all this day. . . .

'*July* 12.—*Battle of Aughrim.* As I was sitting in my cabinet, studying my tactics, a person knocked at the door, who, on opening it, proved to be a dragoon of the third regiment. He brought me a note from Clarke, informing me that the person he mentioned was arrived, and desired to see me at one o'clock. I ran off directly to the Luxembourg, and was shown into Fleury's cabinet, where I remained till three, when the door opened, and a very handsome well-made young fellow, in a brown coat and nankeen pantaloons, entered, and said, "Vous êtes le Citoyen Smith?" I thought he was a *chef de bureau*, and replied, "Oui, citoyen, je m'appelle Smith." He said, "Vous vous appelez aussi, je crois, Wolfe Tone?" I replied, "Oui, citoyen, c'est mon véritable nom." "Eh bien," replied he, "je suis le Général Hoche." At these words I mentioned that I had for a long

time been desirous of the honour I then enjoyed, to find myself in his company. He then said he presumed I was the author of the memorandums which had been transmitted to him. I said I was. "Well," said he, "there are one or two points I want to consult you on." He then proceeded to ask me, in case of the landing being effectuated, might he rely on finding provisions, and particularly bread. I said it would be impossible to make any arrangements in Ireland previous to the landing, because of the *surveillance* of the Government, but if that were once accomplished, there would be no want of provisions; that Ireland abounded in cattle, and, as for bread, I saw by the 'Gazette' that there was not only no deficiency of corn, but that she was able to supply England, in a great degree, during the late alarming scarcity in that country; and I assured him that if the French were once in Ireland, he might rely that, whoever wanted bread, they should not want it. He seemed satisfied with this, and proceeded to ask me, might we count upon being able to form a Provisional Government, either of the Catholic Committee, mentioned in my memorials, or of the chiefs of the Defenders. I thought I saw an opening here to come at the number of troops intended for us, and replied that that would depend on the force which might be landed; if that force were but trifling, I could not pretend to say how they might act, but if it was considerable, I had no doubt of their co-operation.

'"Undoubtedly," replied he, "men will not sacri-

fice themselves when they do not see a reasonable prospect of support; but, if I go, you may be sure I will go in sufficient force." He then asked, did I think 10,000 men would decide them? I answered, undoubtedly, but early in the business the minister had spoken to me of 2,000, and that I had replied that such a number could effect nothing. "No," replied he, "they would be overwhelmed before any could join them." I replied I was glad to hear him give that opinion, as it was precisely what I had stated to the minister, and I repeated that, with the force he mentioned, I could have no doubt of support and co-operation sufficient to form a Provisional Government. He then asked me what I thought of the priests, or was it likely they would give us any trouble. I replied I certainly did not calculate on their assistance, but neither did I think they would be able to give us any effectual opposition; that their influence over the minds of the common people was exceedingly diminished of late. I explained all this at some length to him, and concluded by saying, that, in prudence, we should avoid as much as possible shocking their prejudices unnecessarily, and that, with common discretion, I thought we might secure their neutrality at least, if not their support. I mentioned this merely as my opinion, but added that, in the contrary event, I was satisfied it would be absolutely impossible for them to take the people out of our hands. We then came to the army. He asked me how I thought they would act.

'I replied, for the regulars I could not pretend to say, but that they were wretched bad troops; for the militia, I hoped and believed that when we were once organised they would not only not oppose us, but come over to the cause of their country *en masse*; nevertheless, I desired him to calculate on their opposition, and make his arrangements accordingly; that it was the safe policy, and if it became unnecessary it was so much gained. He said he would undoubtedly make his arrangements so as to leave nothing to chance that could be guarded against; that he would come in force, and bring great quantities of arms, ammunition, stores, and artillery, and, for his own reputation, see that all the arrangements were made on a proper scale. I was very glad to hear him speak thus; it sets my mind at ease on divers points. He then said there was one important point remaining on which he desired to be satisfied, and that was what form of government we would adopt on the event of our success. I was going to answer him with great earnestness, when General Clarke entered to request we would come to dinner with Citizen Carnot. We accordingly adjourned the conversation to the apartment of the President, where we found Carnot and one or two more. Hoche, after some time, took me aside and repeated his question. I replied, "Most undoubtedly a republic." He asked again, "Was I sure?" I said as sure as I could be of anything; that I knew nobody in Ireland who thought of any other system, nor did I believe there

was anybody who dreamt of monarchy. He asked me was there no danger of the Catholics setting up one of their chiefs for king. I replied, "Not the smallest," and that there were no chiefs among them of that kind of eminence. . . .

'*July* 23.—I asked Hoche was he apprised of the Directory having honoured me with the rank of *chef de brigade*. He replied he was, and made me his compliments. I then observed to him, I presumed I should be of most service in some situation near his person; that I spoke French, as he might observe, very imperfectly; nevertheless I could make myself understood, and, as he did not speak English, I might be useful in his communications with the people of Ireland. He replied, "Leave all that to me; as soon as you join, and that your regiment (brigade?) is formed, I will apply for the rank of adjutant-general for you; that will place you at once in the *état-major*; and besides, you must be in a situation where you may have a command if necessary." I returned him a thousand thanks; and he proceeded to ask me, "Did I think it was likely that the men of property, or any of them, wished for a revolution in Ireland." I replied, "Most certainly not," and that he should reckon on all the opposition that class could give him; that, however, it was possible that when the business was once commenced, some of them might join us on speculation, but that it would be sorely against their real sentiments. He then asked me, "Did I know Arthur O'Connor?" I replied, I did;

and that I entertained the highest opinion of his talents, principles, and patriotism. He asked me, "Did he not some time ago make an explosion in the Irish Parliament?" I replied, he made the ablest and honestest speech, to my mind, that ever was made in that House. "Well," said he, "will he join us?" I answered I hoped, as he was *foncièrement Irlandais*, that he undoubtedly would. So it seems O'Connor's speech is well known here.

'If ever I meet him, as I hope I may, I will tell him what Hoche said, and the character that he bears in France. It must be highly gratifying to his feelings. Hoche then went on to say, "There is a lord in your country" (I was a little surprised at this beginning, knowing as I do what stuff our Irish peers are made of); "he is son to a duke; is he not a patriot?" I immediately smoked my lover, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and gave Hoche a very good account of him. He then asked me about the Duke. I replied that I hoped for his assistance, or at least neutrality, if the business were once commenced. He then mentioned Fitzgibbon. Of all men in the world, I endeavoured to do him justice, as I had to the others he spoke of; and I believe I satisfied Hoche that he will not meet with prodigious assistance from his Majesty's Lord High Chancellor of Ireland. He then asked me "what quantity of arms would be necessary." I replied, the more the better, as we would find soldiers for as many firelocks as France would send us. He then told me he had demanded

80,000, but was sure of 50,000. That is a piece of good news. . . .

'*July* 27.—I am surprised myself at the *sang froid* with which I regard the progress of my business here, so infinitely beyond my expectations. I had very little expectation of success the day I left Sandy Hook, and in fact I came merely to discharge a duty. Things have turned out miraculously, to be sure. Think of my being at a council of war with Carnot, and Hoche, and Clarke, of my rank of *chef de brigade*, of my travelling now with Hoche, besides what yet may follow! It is absolutely like a romance. There is one thing I can say for myself. On reviewing my conduct in France, I do not see an indiscretion with which I have to charge myself. I think in my conscience I have conducted myself very well.

'*September* 16, 1796.—At three o'clock in the afternoon left Paris. . . I have now done with Paris, at least for some time, and God knows whether I shall ever revisit it; but, at all events, I shall ever look back on the time I spent there with the greatest satisfaction. I believe there is no part of my conduct that I need wish to recall, at least with regard to business. As to pleasure or amusement, I had very little. I formed, and endeavoured to form, no connections. I visited and was visited by nobody, French or foreigner, and left Paris, after seven months' residence, without being acquainted with a single family. I daresay Mr. Pitt knew I was there, as

close as I kept; if he did, it was by no fault or indiscretion of mine.

'*September* 26.—The general (Hoche) set off this morning for Brest. I hope in God he may hurry those fellows. I dread the equinoctial gales passing over and finding us unprepared. By Shee's discourse I fancy it is intended that we shall make a race for it. Happy-go-lucky in that case. I was in hopes the Spanish fleet would have joined us at Brest; but he tells me they are returned to Cadiz, after escorting Richery to some unknown latitude. Damn their foolish souls, they will be beaten, and the French also in detail; whereas, if they were instantly to join their united fleets in the Channel, they would be stronger than anything England could for some time oppose to them, and a week would be sufficient for our business. If they let this occasion escape them, as I fear they will, they need never expect to meet such another.

'*October* 6–7.—A letter from Hoche. He says that he is moving heaven and earth to get things in readiness at Brest, and that he hopes in three weeks we may be getting aboard. The marine agents are scoundrels, and there is a scarcity of seamen, but orders have been this day expedited to all the military commanders along the coast, to make diligent search, secure, and send on to Brest all seafaring persons, and there is a reward of six livres a head to the soldiers for all they can find, which will sharpen them up to the business. It will be November before

we arrive, if we are so fortunate as to arrive at all; of course we shall have, in that case, a winter campaign of it. No matter, we are better able to stand it than those who will be opposed to us. The country gentlemen of Ireland, with their warm feather beds, their beef and claret, will make, I think, no great figure before our grenadiers, who have been seasoned these four years to all manner of hardships and privations in this execrable war of La Vendée, which Hoche has had the glory of terminating.

'*October* 17 (at Brest).—Our expedition, as well as the life of the general, has had a most providential escape. Last night, between nine and ten, as he was returning from the comédie, with General Debelle and Hédouville, a ruffian, who was posted at a corner, fired a pistol at him, within five or six yards, which fortunately missed, and the villain instantly ran off, but was stopped by two of the *aides-de-camp*, who happened to come that way, before he had run one hundred yards. The pistol was likewise found where he had dropped it. On his being seized and examined, he confessed that he was hired by a person, whom he described, to assassinate General Hoche, and was to have fifty louis for his reward. He threw himself on his knees before Hoche, who behaved incomparably well, and desired him to rise, as no man should kneel to him, and tell the whole truth, assuring him that he had not himself the least resentment against him. The fellow then repeated his story exactly, and the two *aides-de-camp* set out with a guard

in quest of the other villain, whom they found in bed, and brought to head-quarters.

'A magistrate being sent for, the two were confronted, and, the latter denying everything, they were both, after a long examination, committed to prison. It seems the fellow who fired the shot is a workman employed in the arsenal; the other is lately from Paris, and says he is a horse-dealer. In order to induce the former to commit the murder, he told him that he was a royalist, and that it was for the King's service to assassinate Hoche, which, together with the promise of the fifty louis, determined him. The name of the former is Moreau, and of the latter Teyssierd. Nothing could be better than the general's behaviour through all this affair. For my part, I do not see what the royalists could promise themselves from his death; at the same time, it is beyond all doubt that this villain, Teyssierd, has come down from Paris expressly to have him assassinated. I do not at all suspect the English of assassination, but certainly, at this moment, they are much more interested in Hoche's death than that miserable Louis XVIII.

'*November* 4, *Head-Quarters.* — Found Hoche pressing Joyeuse extremely to be ready for the expedition, and Joyeuse starting every possible difficulty, particularly on the score of the transports. Hoche then said he would go with the men-of-war only, crowding as many men aboard as they could carry. Joyeuse then came down to five sail of the line and

five frigates, the best sailers, who might, by dint of seamanship and quick sailing, escape from the English, who were, he said, in waiting for them off Cape Clear, and who had also *éclaireurs* off Ushant, as every morning the report was that two large ships and three frigates were seen there. Colonel Shee asked him how many men, for a short passage, could he stow on the ships he mentioned ; he said 600 on each of the line-of-battle ships, and 300 on each of the frigates. That makes in all but 4,500 men. The general then said that his word was pledged to the Government and to his friends in Ireland ; that the time was even elapsed for which he had engaged himself; that he would go in a single frigate, if the admiral could give him no more, and he pressed him again and again in the strongest manner. Joyeuse still hung back, and I believe he was sorry, to judge by his manner, that he had spoken of even five ships of the line ; at length he proposed, merely, as I think, to gain time, to send out a vessel to reconnoitre, and bring positive intelligence of the state of the country, and another to learn the actual position of the English fleet ; and, upon this proposal, the meeting broke up. I augur the worst possible event from any business in which the marine of France is concerned. . . .[1]

[1] In 1792, when Villaret Joyeuse was promoted to the rank of captain, he was known to be inimical to the new order of things, but continued to serve under the Republican Government. He commanded under the Admiral Morard de Galles, who was superseded the year following, and Joyeuse then made vice-admiral, on which occasion St. André, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, said, 'I know that

'*December* 1–2.—Received my order to embark on board the 'Indomptable,' of 80 guns, Captain Bedout. Packed up directly, and wrote a long letter of directions to my wife, in which I detailed everything I thought necessary, and advised her, in case of anything happening to me, to return to America, and settle in Georgia or Carolina.

'*December* 3–4.—As it is now pretty certain that the English are in force off Ushant to the number of sixteen ships of the line and ten frigates, it seems hardly possible that we can make our way to Ireland without falling in with them ; and, as even the most successful action must be attended with damages in our masts and rigging, so that, even if victorious, which I do not expect, we may yet be prevented from

Villaret is nothing but an aristocrat, but he is brave, and will do his duty.' The miserable policy of conciliating public enemies by conferring official favours on them, was amply demonstrated in France. Villaret did not do his duty ; he sacrificed it to his own political predilections. After Hoche's serious complaints against him, Villaret tendered his resignation, he being charged with the marine preparations for the expedition. In his communication to his Government, he predicted the failure of the expedition ; he appears to have been one of Sir Jonah Barrington's order of prophets, who leave no means unattempted to fulfil their own predictions. In September 1797 his name was placed by the Directory on the list of banished persons, but he was allowed to go into voluntary exile. In 1801 he was recalled by Buonaparte, and placed in command of a new expedition destined against St. Domingo. He was subsequently appointed Governor-General of Martinique, and in 1809, when that island was attacked by an English force, he capitulated on easy terms. His bravery was not called in question, but his conduct was blamed by a court of inquiry. He remained unemployed till 1811, when he was named Governor-General of Venice, and died there the year following.—*Biographie Contem.*, tom. 4, p. 1521.—R. R. M.

proceeding on the expedition, considering the stormy season of the year, I have been devising a scheme, which, I think, in the present state of things in Ireland, can hardly fail of success. It is this :—That three, or, at most, four sail of the fastest going ships should take advantage of the first favourable moment, as a dark night and a strong gale from the north-east, and slip out with as many troops as they can carry, including at least a company of the *artillerie légère*, and steering such a course as, though somewhat longer, should be most out of the way of the English fleet ; that they should proceed round the coast of Ireland, keeping a good offing for fear of accidents, and land the men in the north, as near Belfast as possible, &c. . . .

'*December* 12.—The *état-major* came aboard last night : we are seven in number, including a lady in boy's clothes, the wife of a commissaire—one Ragoneau. By what I see, we have a little *army* of commissaires, who are going to Ireland to make their fortunes. If we arrive safe, I think I will keep my eye a little upon those gentlemen.

'In consequence of the arrival of Richery, our squadron will be augmented with two if not three ships, and the army with 1,700 men, which, with 13,400 already on board, will make 15,100—a force more than sufficient for our purpose—if, as I am always obliged to add, we have the good fortune to reach our destination in safety.

'Shee tells me the general thinks the marine are

trifling with him, on purpose to gain time until the bad weather sets in ; when, if it holds any time, as is highly probable, our stores of all sorts will be exhausted, and the business must be given up from sheer necessity. This I apprehend myself. He also says that Bruix, a rear-admiral, who is charged with the execution of the naval department, and in whose zeal the general had great confidence, has cooled exceedingly within these few days, so much that to-day, when the general called on him and was pressing him on our affair, Bruix, instead of answering him, was dandling one of his little children. The excuse now is, that we are waiting for some charts or plans, which must be washed in water-colours, and will take two days ; a worthy subject for delay in the present stage of the business !

'*December* 15.—At eleven o'clock this morning the signal was made to heave short, and I believe we are now about to sail in downright earnest. . . . The signal is now flying to get under way ; so, one way or other, the affair will at last be brought to a decision, and God knows how sincerely I rejoice at it. The wind is right aft. Huzza ! At one we got under way, and stood out of the Goulet until three, when we cast anchor by signal in the Bay de Camaret, having made about three leagues.

'*December* 17.—This morning, to my infinite mortification and anxiety, we are but eighteen sail in company, instead of forty-three, which is our number. We conjecture, however, that the remaining twenty-

five have made their way through the Troise, and that we shall see them to-morrow morning; at the same time, we much fear that some of our companions have perished in that infernal Raz. We have nothing for it now but to wait till to-morrow. (*At night.*) This day has passed without any event; the weather moderate, the wind favourable, and our eighteen sail pretty well together.

'*December* 19.—This morning, at eight, signal of a fleet in the offing. I see about a dozen sail, but whether they are friends or enemies God knows. It is a stark calm, so that we do not move an inch, even with our studding sails, but here we lie rolling like so many logs on the water. It is most inconceivably provoking; two frigates that were ordered to reconnoitre, have not advanced one hundred yards in an hour with all their canvas out. If this fleet prove to be our comrades, it will be famous news; if we had a fair wind, we should be in Bantry Bay to-morrow morning.

'*December* 20.—Last night, in moderate weather, we contrived to separate again, and this morning, at eight o'clock, we are but fifteen sail in company, with a foul wind and hazy. I am in horrible ill-humour, and no wonder. We shall lie beating about here, within thirty leagues of Cape Clear, until the English come and catch us, which will be truly agreeable.

'*December* 21.—Stark calm all the forepart of the night; at length a breeze sprung up, and this morning, at daybreak, we are under Cape Clear, distant

about four leagues; so I have, at all events, once more seen my country; but the pleasure I should otherwise feel at this is totally destroyed by the absence of the general, who has not joined us, and of whom we know nothing. At the moment I write this, we are under easy sail, within three leagues at most of the coast, so that I can discover here and there patches of snow on the mountains. What if the general should not join us? If we cruise here five days, according to our instructions, the English will be upon us, and then all is over. We are thirty sail in company, and seven or eight absent. Is that such a separation of our force, as, under all the circumstances, will warrant our following the letter of our orders, to the certain failure of the expedition?

'If Grouchy and Bouvet be men of spirit and decision, they will land immediately, and trust to their success for justification. If they be not, and if this day passes without our seeing the general, I much fear the game is up.

'*December* 22.—This morning, at eight, we have neared Bantry Bay considerably, but the fleet is terribly scattered; no news of the "Fraternité." I believe it is the first instance of an admiral in a clean frigate, with moderate weather and moonlight nights, parting company with his fleet. Captain Grammont, our first lieutenant, told me his opinion is that she is either taken or lost, and, in either event, it is a terrible blow to us. All rests now upon Grouchy, and I hope he may turn out well; he has a glorious

game in his hands, if he has spirit and talent to play it. I have been looking over the schedule of our arms, artillery, and ammunition; we are well provided; we have 41,160 stand of arms, twenty pieces of field artillery, and nine of siege, including mortars and howitzers; 61,200 barrels of powder, 7,000,000 musket cartridges, and 700,000 flints, besides an infinite variety of articles belonging to the train, but we have neither sabres nor pistols for the cavalry; however, we have nearly three regiments of hussars embarked, so that we can dispense with them.

'The day has passed without the appearance of one vessel, friend or enemy, the wind rather more moderate, but still ahead. . . .

'It was agreed in full council that General Chérin, Colonel Wandré, *chef d'état major* of the artillery, and myself should go aboard the "Immortalité," and press General Grouchy in the strongest manner to proceed on the expedition with the ruins of our scattered army. Accordingly we made a signal with the admiral, and in about an hour we were aboard. I must do Grouchy the justice to say that the moment we gave our opinion in favour of proceeding, he took his part decidedly, and, like a man of spirit, he instantly set about preparing the *ordre de bataille*, and we finished it without delay. We are not more than 6,500 strong, but they are tried soldiers, who have seen fire, and I have the strongest hopes that, after all, we shall bring our enterprise to a glorious termination. It is a bold attempt, and truly original.

All the time we were preparing the *ordre de bataille*, we were laughing most immoderately at the poverty of our means, and I believe, under the circumstances, it was the merriest council of war that was ever held; but "Des chevaliers français tel est le caractère." . . . It is altogether an enterprise truly *unique*; we have not one guinea; we have not a tent; we have not a horse to draw our four pieces of artillery; the general-in-chief marches on foot; we leave all our baggage behind us; we have nothing but the arms in our hands, the clothes on our backs, and a good courage, but that is sufficient. With all these original circumstances, such as I believe never were found united in an expedition of such magnitude as that we are about to attempt, we are all gay as larks. I never saw the French character better exemplified than in this morning's business. Well, at last I believe we are about to disembark; God knows how I long for it. . . . The enemy has now had four days to recover from his panic and prepare to receive us; so much the worse, but I do not mind it. We purpose to make a race for Cork as if the devil were in our bodies, and when we are fairly there, we will stop for a day or two to take breath and look about us. From Bantry to Cork is about forty-five miles, which, with all our efforts, will take us three days, and I suppose we may have a brush by the way, but I think we are able to deal with any force that can at a week's notice be brought against us.

'*December* 25.—Last night I had the strongest ex-

pectations that to-day we should debark, but at two this morning I was awakened by the wind. I rose immediately, and, wrapping myself in my great coat, walked for an hour in the gallery, devoured by the most gloomy reflections. . . . This day, at twelve, the wind blows a gale still from the east, and our situation is now as critical as possible, for it is morally certain that this day, or to-morrow in the morning, the English fleet will be in the harbour's mouth, and then adieu to everything. In this desperate state of affairs, I proposed to Chérin to sally out with all our forces, mount the Shannon, and, disembarking the troops, make a forced march to Limerick, which is probably unguarded, the garrison being, I am pretty certain, on its march to oppose us here; to pass the river at Limerick, and, by forced marches, push to the north. I detailed all this on a paper, which I will keep, and showed it to Captain Bedout and all the generals on board, Chérin, Simon, and Chasseloup. They all agreed as to the advantages of the plan, but after settling it, we find it impossible to communicate with the general and admiral, who are in the "Immortalité," nearly two leagues ahead, and the wind is now so high and foul, and the sea so rough, that no boat can live, so all communication is impracticable, and to-morrow morning it will, most probably, be too late; and on this circumstance, perhaps, the fate of the expedition and the liberty of Ireland depend. I cannot conceive for what reason the two commanders-in-chief are shut up together in

a frigate. Surely they should be on board the flag-ship. My prospects at this hour are as gloomy as possible. I see nothing before, unless a miracle be wrought in our favour, but the ruin of the expedition, the slavery of my country, and my own destruction. Well, if I am to fall, at least I will sell my life as dear as individual resistance can make it. So now I have made up my mind. I have a merry Christmas of it to-day.

'*December* 26.—Last night, at half after six o'clock, in a heavy gale of wind, still from the east, we were surprised by the admiral's frigate running under our quarter, and hailing the "Indomptable," with orders to cut our cable and put to sea instantly; the frigate then pursued her course, leaving us all in the utmost astonishment. Our first idea was that it might be an English frigate, lurking in the bottom of the bay, which took advantage of the storm and darkness of the night to make her escape, and wished to separate our squadron by this stratagem; for it seems utterly incredible that an admiral should cut and run in this manner, without any previous signal of any kind to warn the fleet, and that the first notice we should have of his intention should be his hailing us in this extraordinary manner with such unexpected and peremptory orders. After a short consultation with his officers (considering the storm, the darkness of the night, that we have two anchors out, and only one spare one in the hold), Captain Bedout resolved to wait, at all events, till to-morrow

morning, in order to ascertain whether it was really the admiral who hailed us. The morning is now come, the gale continues, and the fog is so thick that we cannot see a ship's length ahead; so here we lie in the utmost uncertainty and anxiety. In all probability, we are now left without admiral or general; if so, Chérin will command the troops, and Bedout the fleet; but, at all events, there is an end of the expedition. Certainly, we have been persecuted by a strange fatality from the very night of our departure to this hour.

'We have lost two commanders-in-chief; of four admirals not one remains; we have lost one ship of the line that we know of, and probably many others of which we know nothing; we have now been six days in Bantry Bay, within five hundred yards of the shore, without being able to effectuate a landing; we have been dispersed four times in four days; and at this moment, of forty-three sail, of which the expedition consisted, we can muster of all sizes but fourteen. . . . Well, England has not had such an escape since the Spanish Armada, and that expedition, like ours, was defeated by the weather; the elements fight against us, and courage is here of no avail.

'*December* 27.—Yesterday several vessels, including the "Indomptable," dragged their anchors several times, and it was with difficulty they rode out the gale. At two o'clock, the "Révolution," a 74, made signal that she could hold no longer, and, in conse-

quence of the commodore's permission, who now commands our little squadron, cut her only cable and put to sea. In the night, the "Patriote" and "Pluton" were forced to put to sea, with the "Nicomède," *flûte* (store ship), so that this morning we are reduced to seven sail of the line and one frigate.

'*December* 28.—Last night it blew a dreadful hurricane. At one this morning, a dreadful sea took the ship in the quarter, stove in the quarter gallery, and one of the dead-lights in the great cabin, which was instantly filled with water to the depth of three feet. The cots of our officers were almost all torn down, and themselves and their trunks floated about the cabin. For my part, I had just fallen asleep when wakened by the shock, of which I at first did not comprehend the meaning; but hearing the water distinctly rolling in the cabin beneath me, and two or three of the officers mounting in their shirts, as wet as if they had risen from the bottom of the sea, I concluded instantly that the ship had struck and was filling with water, and that she would sink directly. . . . The frigate "Coquille" joined us in the course of the day, which we spent standing off and on the shore, without being joined by any of our missing companions.

'*December* 29.—At four this morning, the commodore made the signal to sail for France; so there is an end of the expedition for the present—perhaps for ever. At ten we made prize of an unfortunate

brig, bound from Lisbon to Cork, laden with salt, which we sunk.

'*December* 30–31.—On our way to Brest. It will be supposed I am in no great humour to make memorandums. This is the last day of the year 1796, which has been a very remarkable one in my history.'[1]

On January 2, 1797, arrived at Brest the remnant of the expedition from Bantry Bay. In the preceding month of May, Tone had written to his wife, desiring her to remove with all the family to France by the first opportunity. It was not, however, till the end of December 1796 he had the happiness of hearing of their arrival at Hamburg, and being then settled there, 'his wife, sister, and children, his brother having decided to settle in America.' The brother unnamed in the journal was Matthew.

The following letters of Tone to his wife will show how he was occupied from the time of the Bantry Bay failure to that of the preparation for the second expedition, that was intended to have proceeded to Ireland from Holland:

'Paris, January 13, 1797.

'Thank God, you are safe thus far, with our darling babies! I will not hear, I will not believe, that your health is not in the best possible state; at the same time, I entreat you, as you value *my* life, that

[1] *The Life of T. W. Tone*, by his Son. Washington, 8vo., 1826, ii. 15 *et seq.*

you may take all possible care of yourselves. I am only this morning arrived at Paris from Brest, whence I was despatched by the general commanding the army intended for Ireland, in the absence of General Hoche, in order to communicate with the Executive Directory. I am at present adjutant-general, and I can live on my appointments; and when the peace comes, we will rent a cabin and a garden, and be as happy as emperors on my half-pay; at the same time, I am not without hopes that the Government here may be doing something better for me; but for all this, it is indispensable that you be in rude health. Who will milk the cows or make the butter if you are not stout? . . . The sixteenth of last month, we sailed from Brest, with seventeen sail of the line, besides frigates, &c., to the number in all of forty-three sail, having on board 15,000 troops and 45,000 stand of arms, with artillery, &c. We were intended for Ireland, but no unfortunate fleet was ever so tossed by storm and tempest; at length the division in which I embarked was forced to return to Brest, the second of this month, after lying eight days in Bantry Bay, near Cork, without being able to put a man ashore. We brought back about 5,000 men, and as the general has not yet returned, we are in great hopes that he has effected a landing with the other 10,000, in which case we shall retrieve everything. In the meantime I am here waiting the orders of the Government. If the expedition be renewed, I shall, of course, return to Brest; if not, I

will await your arrival at Paris. This is a hasty sketch of my affairs, but I have a "Journal" for you in eleven little volumes. I have only to add that I am in the highest health, and should be in good spirits, if it were not for those two cruel lines where you speak of yourself. . . .

'I shall soon know now whether our affair will be prosecuted or not; if it is, I am of course compelled to take my share, and must return to my post; if it is not, I will go for you myself to Hamburg.

'I return to my own affairs. You desire me to write something comfortable, and, in consequence, I tell you, in the first place, that I dote upon you and the babies; and, in the next place, that my pay and appointments amount to near eight thousand livres a year, of which one-fourth is paid in cash, and the remainder in paper; so that I receive now about eighty-four pounds sterling a year, and when we come to be paid all in cash, as we shall be some time or other, my pay will be about three hundred and fifty pounds sterling a year. I will rent a cottage and a few acres of land within a few miles of Paris, in order to be on the spot, and with our eighty-four pounds a year, a couple of cows, a hog, and some poultry, you will see whether we will not be happy. That is the worst that can happen us; but if our expedition succeeds, of which as yet I know nothing, but which a very few days must now decide, only think what a change that will make in our affairs; and even if anything should happen me in that event,

you and the babies will be the care of the nation; so let me entreat of you not to give way to any gloomy ideas.

'Direct your answer to *Le Citoyen Smith, Petite Rue St. Roche, Poissonière, No.* 7, *à Paris.*

'My sincere love to Mary and the little ones. God Almighty for ever bless you, because I dote on you.

'Yours, ever,

'J. Smith.'

Extracts from Letter to Mrs. Tone.

'I am surprised you did not receive my last letter addressed to you at Princeton, because I *enclosed* it in one to Reynolds and Rowan jointly, which it seems they received, which is a little extraordinary; however, as it happens, it is no great matter, for it is little more than a duplicate of the one you got by way of Havre.[1]

'I am heartily glad that Matt is safe and well. If I had him here now, I could make him a captain and my *aide-de-camp* for a word's speaking to the general; so that, if he has any wish for a military life, it is unlucky that he did not come with you, as I desired in my letter to you which miscarried. I will reserve for Matt the very first company of grenadiers in the army; so Mary will have two brothers, in that

[1] These letters contained instructions to my mother to carry the papers and everything from America. Can it be that Reynolds already meditated to keep them?—Editor of *Tone's Journals*, &c.

case, of the *état militaire*, instead of one; and perhaps she may have three, for Arthur (*of whom I have not heard one word since he left Philadelphia*) is now old enough to carry a pair of colours.[1]

'*February* 11, 1797.—I gave you, in my last, a short sketch of our unlucky expedition, for the failure of which we are, ultimately, to accuse the winds alone, for, as to any enemy, we saw none. In the event, the English took but one frigate, and two or three transports; so you see the rhodomontades which you read in the English papers were utterly false. I mentioned to you that I had been sent by *General Grouchy*, with his despatches, to the *Directoire Exécutif*, which you are not to wonder at, for I am highly esteemed by the said general; inasmuch as, *the first day I marched before him, thinking of you, I missed the step, and threw the whole line into confusion; upon which I determined to retrieve my credit, and exerted myself so much, that, at the end of the review, the general thanked me for my behaviour.* I thought, at the time I wrote, that I should be ordered back to *Brest*, but *General Hoche*, who commanded our expedition in chief, has, it seems, taken a liking to me; for, this very blessed day, he caused to be signified to me, that he thought of taking me, in his family, to

[1] Arthur, who had joined his brother in America soon after his arrival, had been sent home in January 1796 on an important mission by his brother—namely, to communicate the intelligence of his approaching departure for France, and the commencement of his negociations with the French Government, to the northern leaders of the United Irishmen.—R. R. M.

the army of *Sambre* and *Meuse*, which he is appointed to command; to which I replied, as in duty bound, that I was at all times ready to obey his orders; so, I fancy, go I shall. . . .

'I rely upon your courage in this, as on every former occasion in our lives; our situation is to-day a thousand times more desirable than when I left you in Princeton; between ourselves, I think I have not done badly since my arrival in France; and so you will say when you read my memorandums. I came here knowing not a single soul, and scarcely a word of the language; I have had the good fortune, thus far, to obtain the confidence of the Government, so far as was necessary for our affair, and to secure the good opinion of my superior officers, as appears by the station I hold. It is not every stranger that comes into France and is made adjutant-general, "with *two* points on his shoulder," as you say right enough; but that is nothing to what is, I hope, to come. I cannot explain myself further to you by letter; remember the motto of our arms, "*Never despair!*" . . . .

'Your ever affectionate husband,

'J. S., *Adjt.-Gen.!!!*'

From June to October 1797 we find, by Tone's journal, active preparations were making for the Dutch expedition at the Texel. At the close of September 1797, Tone, on his arrival from Holland in Paris, had found his wife and children there in health

and spirits. He also found his friend Lewines, of Dublin, there in the capacity of accredited agent of the Leinster Directory of the United Irishmen, 'as minister from Ireland;' and of that appointment Tone says: 'I am heartily glad of it, for I have an excellent opinion of his integrity and talents.' But there had been there another quondam leader of the United Irishmen, of whom Tone wrote a little later thus to his wife: 'What, in God's name, is T. doing at Paris? and especially why does he go by a name so notorious? I will whisper you that it is out of pure vanity; but let it go no farther. (Sings)—"*Oh, 'tis thus we'll all stand by the great Napper Tandy.*"' Tone, in his journal, June 23, 1797, says: 'Hoche showed Lewines Simon's letter, which contained the assurance of the Directory "that they would make no peace with England wherein the interests of Ireland should not be fully discussed, agreeably to the wishes of the people of that country." This is a very strong declaration, and has most probably been produced by a demand made by Lewines in his memorial, "that the French Government should make it an indispensable condition of peace, that all the British troops be withdrawn from Ireland, and the people left at full liberty to declare whether they wished to continue the connection with England or not." Hoche added, that preparations were making also in Holland for an expedition, the particulars of which he would communicate to us in two or three days, and in the meantime he desired us to attend him to Cologne.

'*June* 25.—At nine o'clock at night the General sent us a letter from General Daendels, Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Batavian Republic, acquainting him that everything was in the greatest forwardness, and would be ready in a very few days; that the army and the navy were in the best possible spirit; that the Committee for Foreign Affairs (the Directory per interim of the Batavian Republic) desired most earnestly to see him without loss of time, in order to make the definite arrangements; and, especially, they prayed him to bring with him the deputy of the people of Ireland, which Daendels repeated two or three times in his letter. In consequence of this I waited on the General, whom I found in his bed in the *Cour Impériale*, and received his orders to set off with Lewines without loss of time, and attend him at the Hague.

'*June* 28.—This morning, at ten, Lewines and I went with General Hoche to the Committee for Foreign Affairs, which we found sitting. General Hoche began by stating extremely well the history of our affairs since he had interested himself in them; he pressed, in the strongest manner that we could wish, the advantages to be reaped from the emancipation of Ireland, the almost certainty of success if the attempt were once made, and the necessity of attempting it, if at all, immediately. It was Citizen Hahn who replied to him. He said he was heartily glad to find the measure sanctioned by so high an opinion as that of General Hoche; that originally the

object of the Dutch Government was to have invaded England, in order to have operated a diversion in favour of the French army, which it was hoped would have been in Ireland ; that circumstances being totally changed in that regard, they had yielded to the wishes of the French Government, and resolved to go into Ireland ; that, for this purpose, they had made the greatest exertions, and had now at the Texel an armament of sixteen sail of the line, ten frigates, 15,000 troops in the best condition, eighty pieces of artillery, and pay for the whole for three months ; but that a difficulty had been raised within a few days, in consequence of a requisition of the Minister of Marine, Trueguet, who wished to have 5,000 French troops, instead of so many Dutch, to be disembarked in consequence. That this was a measure of extreme risk, inasmuch as the discipline of the Dutch navy was very severe, and such as the French troops would probably not submit to ; that, in that case, they could not pretend to enforce it with regard to their own troops, the consequence of which would be a relaxation of all discipline. General Hoche immediately replied, that, such being the case, he would take on himself to withdraw the demand of the Minister of Marine, and satisfy the Directory as to the justice of their observations ; and that he hoped, all difficulty on that head being removed, they would press the embarkation without a moment's delay. It was easy to see the most lively satisfaction on all their faces at this declaration of General Hoche, which

certainly does him the greatest honour. . . . A member of the committee, I believe it was Van Leyden, then asked us, supposing everything succeeded to our wish, what was the definite object of the Irish people? To this we replied categorically, that it was to throw off the yoke of England, break for ever the connection now existing with that country, and constitute ourselves a free and independent people. They all expressed their satisfaction at this reply, and Van Leyden observed that he had travelled through Ireland, and to judge from the luxury of the rich, and extreme misery of the poor, no country in Europe had so crying a necessity for a revolution. To which Lewines and I replied, as is most religiously the truth, that one great motive of our conduct in this business was the conviction of the wretched state of our peasantry, and the determination, if possible, to amend it. The political object of our visit being now nearly ascertained, Hahn, in the name of the committee, observed that he hoped either Lewines or I would be of the expedition, as our presence with the General would be indispensable. To which Hoche replied, "that I was ready to go," and he made the offer, on my part, in a manner peculiarly agreeable to my feelings. It was then fixed that I should set off for the army of Sambre et Meuse for my trunk, and especially for my papers, and that Lewines should remain at the Hague, at the orders of the committee, until my return, which might be seven or eight days. The meeting then broke up.

'*July* 4.—Instantly on my arrival at the Hague, I waited on General Daendels, whom I found on the point of setting out for the Texel. He read the letter, and told me everything should be settled with regard to my rank, and that I should receive two months' pay in advance, to equip me for the campaign. . . .

'*July* 8.—Arrived early in the morning at the Texel, and went immediately on board the Admiral's ship, the "Vryheid," of 74 guns, a superb vessel. Found General Daendels aboard, who presented me to Admiral de Winter, who commands the expedition. . . .

'*July* 10.—I have been boating about the fleet, and aboard several of the vessels; they are in very fine condition, incomparably better than the fleet at Brest, and I learn from all hands that the best possible spirit reigns in both soldiers and sailors. Admiral Duncan, who commands the English fleet off the Texel, sent in yesterday an officer with a flag of truce, apparently with a letter, but in fact to reconnoitre our force. De Winter was even with him; for he detained his messenger, and sent back the answer by an officer of his own, with instructions to bring back an exact account of the force of the enemy.

'*July* 11.—This day our flag of truce is returned, and the English officer released. Duncan's fleet is of eleven sail of the line, of which three are three-deckers.

'*July* 13.—I have had a good deal of discourse to-day with General Daendels, and I am more and more pleased with him. His plan is, to place such of our people as may present themselves at first in the cadres of the regiments which we bring out, until our battalions are 1,000 each; that then we may form a corps, and he will give us proper officers to discipline and organise it; that he will keep the main army of 8,000 or 10,000 men in activity, and leave the security of our communications, the guarding of passes, rivers, &c., to the national troops, until they are in a certain degree disciplined. A great deal of this is good, but we must be brought more forward in the picture than that for every reason in the world. . . .

'*July* 14.—General Daendels showed me to-day his instructions from the Dutch Government. They are fair and honest, and I have no doubt he will act up to them. The spirit of them is, always to maintain the character of a faithful ally, not to interfere in the domestic concerns of the people, to aid them by every means in his power to establish their liberty and independence, and to expect no condition in return, but that we should throw off the English yoke, and that, when all was settled on that score, we should arrange our future commerce with the Dutch Republic on the basis of reciprocal advantages and accommodation. And I am convinced, from what I see of Daendels, and the frankness of his character, that he will act up to his instructions.

'The report to-day is, that we shall get under way to-morrow, and I see a bustle in the ship, which seems to confirm it; but I follow my good old rule: to ask no questions. It is, to be sure, glorious, the prospect of this day.

'*July* 17.—The wind is as foul as the devil. At Brest we had, against all probability, a fair wind for five days successively, during all which time we were not ready, and at last, when we did arrive at our destination, the wind changed and we missed our blow.

'Here all is ready, and nothing is wanting but a fair wind. We are riding at single anchor. I hope the wind may not play us a trick. It is terribly foul this evening. Hang it and damn it! For me, I am in a rage which is truly astonishing, and can do nothing to help myself. Well! Well!

'*July* 19.—Wind foul still. Horrible! Horrible! Admiral de Winter and I endeavour to pass away the time playing the flute, which he does very well; we have some good duets, and that is some relief. It is, however, impossible to conceive anything more irksome than waiting, as we now are, on the wind; what is still worse, the same wind which locks us up here is exactly favourable for the arrival of reinforcements to Duncan, if Lord Spencer means to send him any. Naval expeditions are terrible for their uncertainty. . . . There never was, and never will be, such an expedition as ours if it succeeds; it is not merely to determine which of two despots shall sit upon a

throne, or whether an island shall belong to this or that State; it is to change the destiny of Europe, to emancipate one, perhaps three nations, to open the sea to the commerce of the world, to found a new empire, to demolish an ancient one, to subvert a tyranny of six hundred years. And all this hangs to-day upon the wind. I cannot express the anxiety I feel. Well, no matter! I can do nothing to help myself, and that aggravates my rage.

'*July* 20.—This evening I had the pleasure to count nineteen sail of British vessels, which passed the mouth of the Texel under an easy sail. The General assures me, however, that there are not above twelve sail of the line among them, according to the comparison of the best accounts which have been received. Wind foul, as usual. The following is the state of our army: Infantry, eighteen battalions, of 452 men, 8,136; chasseurs, four battalions, at 540 men, 2,160; cavalry, eight squadrons, 1,650; artillery, nine companies, 1,049; light artillery, two companies, 389; *état-major*, 160; total 13,544. It is more than sufficient. Would to God we were all arrived safe and well at our destination!

'*August* 1–2.—Everything goes on here from bad to worse, and I am tormented and unhappy more than I can express, so that I hate even to make these memorandums. Well, it cannot be helped. On the 30th, in the morning early, the wind was fair, the signal was given to prepare to get under way, and everything ready, when, at the very instant we were

about to weigh the anchor and put to sea, the wind chopped about and left us. . . . I am, to-day, twenty-five days aboard, and at a time when twenty-five hours are of importance. There seems to be a fate in this business. Five weeks, I believe six weeks, the English fleet was paralysed by the mutinies at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and the Nore. The sea was open, and nothing to prevent both the Dutch and French fleets to put to sea. Well, nothing was ready; that precious opportunity, which we can never expect to return, was lost; and now that, at last, we are ready here, the wind is against us, the mutiny is quelled, and we are sure to be attacked by a superior force.

"*August* 5.—This morning arrived aboard the "Vryheid," Lowry, of county Down, member of the Executive Committee, and John Tennant, of Belfast. I am in no degree delighted with the intelligence which they bring. The persecution in Ireland is at its height, and the people there, seeing no prospect of succour, which has been so long promised to them, are beginning to lose confidence in themselves and their chiefs, whom they almost suspect of deceiving them. They ground their suspicions on the great crisis of the mutiny being suffered to pass by, without the French Government making the smallest attempt to profit of it, and I can hardly blame them. They held out till June 24, the last day allowed by the British Government, in the proclamation offering a general pardon, and, that day being arrived,

they have almost entirely submitted and taken the oath of allegiance; most of them have likewise given up their arms, but it appears that the number of firelocks was much less than was imagined. In consequence of all this, the Executive Committee has doubled its efforts. M'Neven was despatched from Dublin to France, and sailed from Yarmouth on July 5; of course he is, I reckon, long before this in Paris. Lowry, Tennant, and Bartholomew Teeling came together to Hamburg, where they arrived about a fortnight ago, and finding the letter I wrote to my sister, acquainting her with my being here, Teeling immediately sailed for England, and I am in hopes he will get back safe, in which case his arrival will give courage to the people; the other two came here. But, as I said already, it is hard to judge at a distance.

'Keogh, I know, is not fit for a *coup de main;* he has got, as Lewines tells me, M'Cormick latterly into his hands, and, besides, Dick is now past the age of adventure. I am surprised that Emmett did not show more energy, because I know he is as brave as Cæsar of his person. It seems to me to have been such an occasion missed as we can hardly expect to see return.

'Lowry and Tennant say there are now at least 80,000 men in Ireland of British troops, including the militia and yeomanry corps, who, together, may make 35,000; but in this account I am sure there is great exaggeration; for they spoke very much by

guess, and a number that is guessed, as Johnson remarks, is always exaggerated.

'*August* 12.—The wind is as foul as ever, and I begin fairly to despair of our enterprise.

'To-night Admiral de Winter took me into secret, and told me he had prepared a memorial to his Government, stating that the design originally was to be ready for the beginning of July, and that everything was, in consequence, embarked by the 9th; that the English fleet at that time consisted, at the very most, of thirteen sail of the line, which could not make any effectual opposition; that contrary wind having prevailed ever since, without an hour's intermission, the enemy had had time to reinforce himself to the number of seventeen sail of the line, so that he had now a superiority in force over the Dutch fleet, which, of course, rendered the issue of an engagement, to a certain degree, doubtful; that, by this unforeseen delay, which might, and probably would, continue still longer, a great additional consumption of provisions had taken place, so that, in a very few days, there would be barely sufficient for the voyage north. . . . He proposed that a report should be published industriously that the expedition had been abandoned; but that from 2,500 to 3,000 of the troops, with twenty or thirty pieces of artillery, and all the arms and ammunition, should be despatched in a small flotilla for the original destination, where they should land the men, arms, and artillery, and he would charge himself with the exe-

cution of the plan. . . . These are, most certainly, very strong reasons, and, unfortunately, the wind gives them every hour fresh weight. I answered, that I did not see at present any solid objection to oppose to his system ; and that all I had to say was, that, if the Batavian Republic sent but a corporal's guard to Ireland, I was ready to make one. So here is our expedition in a hopeful way. It is most terrible. Twice, within nine months, has England been saved by the wind. It seems as if the very elements had conspired to perpetuate our slavery and protect the insolence and oppression of our tyrants.

'*August* 15.—As it will require three weeks to a month to arrange matters for the expedition on the present plan, Lowry and Tennant have determined to go on to the Hague, and, if they have time, to Paris, in order to see M'Neven and Lewines, and to join with them in endeavouring to procure assistance from France, and especially, if possible, to obtain a small armament to co-operate with that from the Texel, and which, by spreading the alarm, and distracting the attention of the enemy, must produce the most beneficial effects. . . .

'*August* 21.—Breakfasted with the General. He told me, in the first place, that the Government had rejected a plan proposed by the Admiral—viz. to transport 2,500 men, and the arms, stores, and ammunition, and had determined to persist in their original design ; that, however, in consideration of the lateness of the season, he had prepared a memorial.

which he showed me, for a new arrangement, which is shortly this—to sail out and fight Admiral Duncan. If the issue of the battle be favourable, to pass over immediately 15,000 men, or as many more as we can send, in everything that will swim, to Scotland; to seize, in the first instance, on Edinburgh, and march right on to Glasgow, taking every possible means to alarm the enemy with the idea that we meant to penetrate by the North of England, which is to be done by detaching flying parties, making requisitions, &c., on that side; to maintain ourselves, meantime, behind the canal which joins the Frith of Forth to the Clyde, having our right at Dumbarton and our left at Falkirk, as well as I can remember, for I have not at present either the map or the memorial before me; to collect all the vessels in the Clyde, and pass over the army to the North of Ireland; to send round, whilst these military operations were going on by land, the frigates, and such transports, as few as possible, as might be necessary, to carry over the artillery, stores, &c. Finally, that the English would probably be alarmed by all this for their own country, and perhaps recall a part of their troops from Ireland. . . .

'*August* 25–26.—The General has submitted his plan to General Dejean, who approves of it entirely in a military point of view, provided the frigates can get round to meet us.

'*September* 1.—Admiral Duncan's fleet has been reinforced to twenty-one sail of the line, so that, even

if the wind come round in our favour, it would be madness in us to venture an action with such a terrible inferiority of force; in addition to which, we have now, in consequence of the delays occasioned by the wind, not above ten days' provisions remaining for the troops on board. The plan proposed is, in fact, but an improvement on the last one—viz. to land the troops, and quarter them in the neighbourhood, so as to be able to collect them in forty-eight hours; to appear to have renounced the idea of the expedition, but in the meantime to revictual the fleet with all diligence and secrecy, which may occupy probably a month; to endeavour even to reinforce it by one or two vessels, which might, in that time, be got ready for sea. All this will bring us to the time of the equinox, when it will be impossible for the enemy, who will besides, it is probable, have relaxed in his vigilance, in consequence of these manœuvres, to keep the sea. When all is ready, the troops are to be re-embarked with the greatest expedition, and a push to be made instantly for Scotland as already detailed.'

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CHAPTER VII.

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE (continued).

French Expedition for Ireland's liberation—Nearing Bantry Bay—Strange fatalities—Hurricane—Return of the Expedition—Extracts from letters—Dutch preparations—The Fleet at the Texel—General Daendel's instructions—A foul wind—Bad news from Ireland—Delays—New plans Failure—Buonaparte—Matthew Tone's fate—Fatal Expedition—Tone's recognition—Imprisonment and trial—Last words—Death.

The Duke of Wellington's opinion of Theobald Wolfe Tone's journals is thus referred to in Moore's diary, March 15, 1833, in an account of a dinner at Rogers's :—'In talking of Wolfe Tone's journal, which Labouchere compared with Swift's journal to Stella (and pronounced it affected, insincere, &c.), Rogers mentioned what I was glad to hear, that the Duke of Wellington had spoken highly of it to him, and said that but few books had ever interested him so much.'[1]

This journal shows that from December 1797 to September 1798 Tone and Lewines had made many and unsuccessful attempts to procure assistance from the French Government. But with the expulsion of Carnot from the Directory, the death of Hoche (in

[1] *Moore's Memoirs*, vi. 317.

September 1797, at the age of twenty-nine, some said of consumption, others of poison), and the ascendency of Buonaparte's star, every chance of effectual assistance was lost.

Grouchy and Villaret, in their different capacities, contributed to the frustration of the objects of the Brest expedition. The elements conspired against the armament fitted out at the Texel, and the same allies, the only unsubsidised allies of Great Britain's, were again faithful to her interests in the last attempt of this kind in September 1798. On the death of Hoche, September 18, 1797, Buonaparte succeeded to the chief command, and the preparations for the new expedition that Hoche had left in a state of forwardness, received little encouragement from his successor. He attributed at St. Helena to his own ignorance of the resources and population of Ireland, not only the failure of that expedition, but his own downfall. Buonaparte, moreover, was jealous of Hoche, and disposed to thwart any measure of his calculated to enhance his reputation.

With the loss of Carnot in the Directory, the death of Hoche, the failure of the Dutch expedition, the departure of Buonaparte for Egypt, and the increasing difficulties and embarrassments of the French Republic, died away all Tone's expectations of any effective aid from France for Ireland. Of Buonaparte's views with respect to Ireland, we read in young Tone's narrative of the events preceding Hardy's expedition, that 'to the enterprise against

Ireland, the favourite object of Hoche, and to prosecute which he was ostensibly recalled, he, Buonaparte, felt a secret but strong repugnance.

'Though the liberation of that country might prostrate for ever the power of England, and raise the Republic to the pinnacle of fortune (a circumstance for which he did not yet wish, as it would render his services needless), it offered no prospects of aggrandisement to him; it strengthened the republican cause, which he disliked; and the principles of the Irish leaders, when he investigated the business, appeared too closely allied to those of the Jacobins. Neither did he ever sufficiently appreciate the means and importance of that country; his knowledge of it, as may be seen in my father's memoirs, was slight and inaccurate. The Directory, who began to fear him, and wished to get rid of him, entered willingly into his views when he proposed to use this expedition only as a cover, and direct their real efforts to the invasion of Egypt.

'It is asserted that he said, on the occasion, "What more do you desire from the Irish? You see that their movements already operate a powerful diversion." Like every selfish view, I think this is a narrow one. The two most miserable and oppressed countries in Europe always looked up to Napoleon for their liberation. He never gratified their hopes; yet, by raising Ireland, he might have crushed for ever the power of England, and by assisting Poland, placed a curb on Russia. He missed both objects,

and, finally, fell under the efforts of Russia and of England. And it may be observed, as a singular retribution, that an Irishman commanded the army that gave the last blow to his destinies.

'When my father was presented to him, and attached to his army as adjutant-general, he received him with cold civility, but entered into no communications. His plans were already formed. Ostensibly a great force was organised on the western coasts of France, under the name of the Army of England ; but the flower of the troops were successively withdrawn and marched to the Mediterranean.[1] . . .

'On May 20, 1798, Buonaparte had embarked from Toulon. On the 23rd the Irish insurrection broke out. As the news of each arrest, and of each action, successively reached France, he (Tone) urged the generals and Government to assist the gallant and desperate struggle of his countrymen, and pressed on them the necessity of availing themselves of the favourable opportunity which flew so rapidly by. They began their preparations without delay ; but money, arms, ammunition, and ships, all were wanting. By the close of June, the insurrection was nearly crushed, and it was not till the beginning of July that my father was called up to Paris, to consult with the Ministers of the War and Navy Departments, on the organisation of a new expedition.

'At this period his journal closes, and the public

[1] *Tone's Memoirs*, ii. 514.

papers, my mother's recollections, and a few private letters, are my sole documents for the remaining events. The plan of the new expedition was to despatch small detachments from several ports, in the hope of keeping up the insurrection and distracting the attention of the enemy until some favourable opportunity should occur for landing the main body, under General Kilmaine. General Humbert, with about 1,000 men, was quartered for this purpose at Rochelle; General Hardy, with 3,000, at Brest; and Kilmaine, with 9,000, remained in reserve. This plan was judicious enough, if it had been taken up in time. But, long before the first of these expeditions was ready to sail, the insurrection was subdued in every quarter. . . .

'The indignation of the unfortunate Irish was just and extreme against the French Government, which had so repeatedly promised them aid, and now appeared to desert them in their utmost need.'

A miserable expedition, at the instance of Napper Tandy, was at length fitted out, of which Tone's son thus speaks:—

'The final ruin of the expedition was hurried by the precipitancy and indiscretion of a brave but ignorant and imprudent officer. This anecdote, which is not generally known, is a striking instance of the disorder, indiscipline, and disorganisation which began to prevail in the French army. Humbert, a gallant soldier of fortune, but whose heart was better than his head, impatient of the delays of his Government,

and fired by the recitals of the Irish refugees, determined to begin the enterprise on his own responsibility, and thus oblige the Directory to second or to desert him. Towards the middle of August, calling together the merchants and magistrates of Rochelle, he forced them to advance a small sum of money and all that he wanted, on military requisition; and embarking on board a few frigates and transports, with 1,000 men, 1,000 spare muskets, 1,000 guineas, and a few pieces of artillery, he compelled the captains to set sail for the most desperate attempt which is perhaps recorded in history. Three Irishmen accompanied him, my uncle, Matthew Tone, Bartholomew Teeling, of Lisburn, and Sullivan, nephew to Madgett, whose name is often mentioned in these memoirs. On August 22 they made the coast of Connaught, and, landing in the Bay of Killala, immediately stormed and occupied that little town.

'Strange and desperate as was this enterprise, had it been prosecuted with the same spirit and vivacity with which it was begun, it might have succeeded, and Humbert, an obscure and uneducated soldier, might have effected a revolution, and crowned his name with immortal glory. But encircled, on September 8, at Ballinamuck, by an entire army, his small band, after a gallant resistance, were compelled to lay down their arms.

'The French were received to composition and shortly exchanged, but the Irish were slaughtered without mercy; and the cruelties afterwards exer-

cised on the unresisting peasantry will render the name of General Lake remembered for ages in those remote districts of Connaught. Of the Irish who had accompanied Humbert, Sullivan escaped under the disguise of a Frenchman, and Matthew Tone and Teeling were brought in irons to Dublin, tried, and *executed*.'[1]

Matthew Tone came over to Ireland in the unfortunate expedition of Humbert. Theobald, in his diary, speaks of him as a young man of a more solid judgment than his brother William. He was of a reserved and retiring disposition, of a silent turn, and frequently absent in company; yet, says his brother, 'he had a more enthusiastic spirit than any of us.' He was 'a sincere republican, and capable of sacrificing everything for his principles.' Before he was twenty-five, he had visited England twice or thrice, had spent twelve months in America, and as much in the West Indies. He attempted to establish himself in the business of a cotton manufacturer in Prosperous, in 1790, but was not successful, though totally free from an attachment to pleasure and amusements. In August 1794 he crossed over to France, with the intention of entering the French service, but was thrown into prison at Dunkirk on the suspicion of being an English spy. There he remained till May 1795, when he was liberated by order of the Committee of Public Safety, and soon after embarked at Hâvre de Grâce for America.

[1] *Tone's Life*, ii. 520.

When he arrived, his brother was about to quit the United States for France, and did leave that country without knowing of his arrival. Matthew remained in America till October 1797. He had determined to settle in America, but unfortunately changed his purpose, in consequence of a letter from his brother urging him to return to France, and holding out the prospect to him of a captaincy in a regiment of grenadiers.

Theobald, in his diary for November, expresses his satisfaction at his arrival, 'just in time to take a part in the expedition.' He now entered the French service, and soon obtained the rank his brother had led him to expect. The failure of the Dutch expedition left him without active employment till preparations for that of Humbert began to be made. He accompanied Humbert to Killala, and was taken prisoner immediately after the battle of Ballinamuck. He was conveyed to Dublin, and lodged in the Provost prison in the Royal Barracks.

On September 24 he was brought to trial before a court-martial, on a charge of high treason.

On September 29 he was executed on Arbour Hill, and on his way to the place of execution he was treated with unnecessary harshness and unfeeling conduct on the part of the 'ministers of justice' who officiated on that occasion. The object failed, for their brutality did not in the slightest degree disconcert him. He met his fate with the decent solemnity and the fortitude, devoid of all affectation of

indifference, of a brave and a good man. His body was given up to his friends, conveyed to the house of William Dunbarin, and was interred in Bodenstown.

Young Tone, in reference to the failure of Humbert's expedition, observes: 'The news of Humbert's attempt, as may well be imagined, threw the Directory into the greatest perplexity. They instantly determined, however, to hurry all their preparations, and send off at least the division of General Hardy to second his efforts as soon as possible. The report of his first advantages, which shortly reached them, augmented their ardour and accelerated their movements. But such was the state of the French navy and arsenals, that it was not until September 20, 1798, that this small expedition, consisting of one sail of the line and eight frigates, under Commodore Bompart, and 3,000 men, under General Hardy, was ready for sailing. The news of Humbert's defeat had not yet reached France.

'Paris was then crowded with Irish emigrants eager for action. The mass of the United Irishmen embarked in a small and fast sailing boat, with Napper Tandy at their head. They reached, on September 16, the Isle of Raghlin, on the north-west coast of Ireland, where they heard of Humbert's disaster. They merely spread some proclamations, and escaped to Norway. Three Irishmen only accompanied my father in Hardy's flotilla; he alone was embarked in Hardy's vessel, the "Hoche;" the others were on

board the frigates. These were Mr. T. Corbett and M'Guire, two brave officers, who have since died in the French service, and a third gentleman, connected by marriage with his friend Russell, who is yet living, and whose name it would, therefore, be improper in me to mention. [Hamilton.]

'At length, about September 20, 1798, that fatal expedition set sail from the Baye de Camaret. It consisted of the "Hoche," 74; "Loire," "Résolue," "Bellone," "Coquille," "Embuscade," "Immortalité," "Romaine," and "Semillante," frigates; and "Biche," schooner and *aviso*. To avoid the British fleets, Bompart, an excellent seaman, took a large sweep to the westward, and then to the north-east, in order to bear down on the northern coast of Ireland from the quarter whence a French force would be least expected. He met, however, with contrary winds, and it appears that his flotilla was scattered; for, on October 10, after twenty days' cruise, he arrived off the entry of Lough Swilly, with the "Hoche," the "Loire," the "Résolue," and the "Biche." He was instantly signalled; and, on the break of day next morning, October 11, before he could enter the bay or land his troops, he perceived the squadron of Sir John Borlase Warren, consisting of six sail of the line, one *razée* of sixty guns, and two frigates, bearing down upon him. There was no chance of escape for the large and heavy man-of-war. Bompart gave instant signals to the frigates and schooner to retreat through shallow water, and prepared alone to

honour the flag of his country and liberty by a desperate but hopeless defence.

'At that moment, a boat came from the "Biche" for his last orders. That ship had the best chance to get off. The French officers all supplicated my father to embark on board of her. "Our contest is hopeless," they observed; "we will be prisoners of war, but what will become of you?" "Shall it be said," replied he, "that I fled, whilst the French were fighting the battles of my country?"

'He refused their offers, and determined to stand or fall with the ship. The "Biche" accomplished her escape, and I see it mentioned in late publications, that other Irishmen availed themselves of that occasion. This fact is incorrect, not one of them would have done so, and besides, my father was the only Irishman on board the "Hoche."

'The British admiral despatched two men-of-war, the *razée* and a frigate, after the "Loire" and "Résolue," and the "Hoche" was soon surrounded by four sail of the line and a frigate, and began one of the most obstinate and desperate engagements which have ever been fought on the ocean. During six hours she sustained the whole fire of the fleet, till her masts and rigging were swept away, her scuppers flowed with blood, her wounded filled the cock-pit, her shattered ribs yawned at each new stroke and let in five feet of water in the hold, her rudder was carried off, and she floated a dismantled wreck on the waters; her sails and cordage hung in shreds, nor could

she reply with a single gun from her dismounted batteries, to the unabating cannonade of the enemy. At length she struck. The "Résolue" and "Loire" were soon reached by the English fleet; the former was in a sinking condition; she made, however, an honourable defence; the "Loire" sustained three attacks, drove off the English frigates, and had almost effected her escape; at length, engaged by the "Anson," *razée*, of sixty guns, she struck after an action of three hours, entirely dismasted. Of the other frigates, pursued in all directions, the "Bellone," "Immortalité," "Coquille," and "Embuscade" were taken, and the "Romaine" and "Semillante," through a thousand dangers, reached separate ports in France.

'During the action, my father commanded one of the batteries, and, according to the report of the officers who returned to France, fought with the utmost desperation, and as if he was courting death. When the ship struck, confounded with the other officers, he was not recognised for some time; for he had completely acquired the language and appearance of a Frenchman. The two fleets were dispersed in every direction, nor was it till some days later that the "Hoche" was brought into Lough Swilly, and the prisoners landed and marched to Letterkenny. Yet rumours of his being on board must have been circulated, for the fact was public at Paris. But it was thought he had been killed in the action, and I am willing to believe that the British officers, respecting the valour of a fallen enemy, were not earnest in in-

vestigating the point. It was at length a gentleman, well-known in the county Derry as a leader of the Orange party, and one of the chief magistrates in that neighbourhood, Sir George Hill, who had been his fellow-student in Trinity College, and knew his person, who undertook the task of discovering him. It is known that in Spain, grandees and noblemen of the first rank pride themselves in the functions of familiars, spies, and informers of the Holy Inquisition: it remained for Ireland to offer a similar example. The French officers were invited to breakfast with the Earl of Cavan, who commanded in that district; my father sat undistinguished among them, when Sir George Hill entered the room, followed by police constables. Looking narrowly at the company, he singled out the object of his search, and stepping up to him, said, "Mr. Tone, I am *very happy* to see you." Instantly rising with the utmost composure, and disdaining all useless attempts at concealment, my father replied, "Sir George, I am happy to see you; how are Lady Hill and your family?" Beckoned into the next room by the police officers, an unexpected indignity awaited him. It was filled with military, and one General Lavan, who commanded them, ordered him to be ironed, declaring that, as on leaving Ireland to enter the French service he had not renounced his oath of allegiance, he remained a subject of Britain, and should be punished as a traitor. Seized with a momentary burst of indignation at such unworthy treatment and cowardly

cruelty to a prisoner of war, he flung off his uniform, and cried, "These fetters shall never degrade the revered insignia of the free nation which I have served." Resuming then his usual calm, he offered his limbs to the irons, and when they were fixed, he exclaimed, "For the cause which I have embraced, I feel prouder to wear these chains, than if I were decorated with the Star and Garter of England."

'The friends of Lord Cavan have asserted that this extreme, and I will add, *unmanly* and *ungenerous* behaviour, was provoked by his outrageous conduct when he found that he was not to have the privileges of a prisoner of war. This supposition is not only contradicted by the whole tenour of his character and his subsequent deportment, but no other instances of it have ever been specified, than those noble replies to the taunts of General Lavan.'

Tone was no sooner recognised than he was taken into an adjoining room and fettered, as he states, by the orders of Lord Cavan; and thus fettered, he was conveyed on horseback from Letterkenny to Derry under an escort of dragoons.

On Tone's arrival in Dublin he was imprisoned in the Provost in the Royal Barrack, one of the bastilles of the capital, then under the charge of the notorious Major Sandys. Tone was found by the few friends who were permitted to visit him previous to trial, in the same dungeon in which his brother had been confined a few days previously, and from which he had been led to execution.

Previously to his trial, Tone's relative, William Dunbavin, had an interview with him in the Provost. His law agent was likewise permitted to visit him on two or three occasions after his conviction. His father would have gone to see him after the trial, but Tone had wisely determined to spare himself and the poor heart-broken old man the pangs of such a parting, and had sent an intimation to his friends to that effect.

The trial took place on Saturday, November 10. Tone conducted himself with great firmness and manliness. He had prepared a speech, in which he traced his history from the day of his quitting Ireland, and justified his conduct on patriotic grounds, part of which only he was allowed to deliver, the rest being considered inflammatory.

Being asked by the Judge Advocate if there was anything else he wished to offer to the court, Tone replied that if he was not to be brought up again before the decision of the court, there were a few words more he wished to say, and, permission being granted, the prisoner proceeded :—

'"I conceive that I stand here in the same light with our *Emigrés* ; and if the indulgence lay within the power of the court, I would only request—what French magnanimity allowed to Charette and to the Count de Sombrevil—the death of a soldier, and to be shot by files of grenadiers. This is the only favour I have to ask, and I trust that men susceptible of the nicer feelings of a soldier's honour will not refuse the request. It is not from any personal feeling that

I make this request, but from a respect to the uniform which I wear and to the brave army in which I have fought. From papers which I yesterday delivered to the Brigade Major, it will be seen that I am as regularly breveted an officer in the French service as any here is in the British army, and it will be seen that I have not any commission as a protection."

'The papers were then produced, and were a brevet for the rank of *chef de brigade*, and a letter of service, both having the signatures of the President of the French Directory and the Minister of War. . . . He repeated his desire to be indulged with death in the most honourable manner, and as he had no doubt of the decision of the court, he expressed a wish that the confirmation of it by the Lord-Lieutenant might be had as soon as possible, and execution of the sentence immediately follow—within an hour, if it were practicable.

'The President replied that the court would forthwith proceed to a consideration and judgment of his case, after which no delay would take place in transmitting the proceedings to his Excellency; and that it was probable whoever went with them would bear back the Lord-Lieutenant's determination on the subject.

'The prisoner then thanked the court for the indulgence which had been extended to him. He was brought back to the Provost Marshalsea.

'The whole of Saturday and Sunday, Mr. Tone expressed much anxiety to learn the decision of his

Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant concerning the request he had made as to the mode of his execution; having no doubt at all as to the sentence of the court, and its confirmation by his Excellency.

'On Sunday evening he was informed that his conviction and sentence was confirmed by his Excellency; but that his request, as to the mode of his execution, could not be complied with; that he must suffer the same fate as others who were taken in war against their King and country; and that the peculiar circumstances of his case rendered it necessary his execution should be in the most public manner, for the sake of a striking example; that he must be executed in front of the New Prison.'[1]

On Saturday night Tone wrote two letters, one addressed to the French Directory, wherein he called to the attention of its members his services in the Republic, his sacrifices, and the forlorn state of a beloved wife and three infant children, about to be deprived, by his death, of protection and support. The letter was written in such terms as became the writer and his situation. The other was addressed to his wife—that noble woman, who was worthy of being the wife of Tone. One or two passages from it will suffice to show the terms on which their union was founded and maintained:

'Dearest Love,—The hour is at last come when we must part. As no words can express what I feel

[1] *Dublin Magazine*, November 1798.

for you and our children, I shall not attempt it. Complaint of any kind would be beneath your courage and mine. . . . Adieu, dearest love. I find it impossible to finish this letter. Give my love to Mary (his sister), and above all things, remember that you are the only parent of our dearest children, and that the best proof you can give of your affection for me, will be to preserve yourself for their education. God Almighty bless you all.—Yours ever,

'T. W. Tone.'

His dying wishes were fulfilled to the letter. The only parent of his dearest children remembered her duty to them and to the memory of their father, and, through great difficulties, in many trials and tribulations, with scanty means, and with little sympathy on the part of former friends, that duty was performed by her with heroic constancy and courage.

On Sunday, November 11, Tone addressed another letter to his wife—the last he wrote—in which he tells her, 'his mind was as tranquil as at any period of his life.' His dying request was, that 'she should keep her courage as he had kept his. . . . Cherish his memory, and preserve her health and spirits for the sake of their dearest children.'

Among the effects delivered to his father after his decease was a pocket-book, which was sent, by Tone's directions, to his old friend Mr. John Sweetman. The pocket-book must have been either on Tone's bed or person when the fatal act was com-

mitted on the night of the 11th. The green silk lining of the book is stained with blood, and on the lining the words are written in Tone's handwriting: 'T. W. Tone, Nov. 11, 1798. Te nunc habet ista secundum.'

These last words ever written by poor Tone, the reader will find in Virgil's second eclogue. The poet, as an inducement to Alexis to come to him, tells him that he has a seven-jointed flute, which Damœtas, dying, gave him, saying: 'Now, for its second master, it has thee.'

> Fistula, Damœtas dono mihi quam dedit olim,
> Et dixit moriens: 'Te nunc habet ista secundum.'

On Sunday night, after Tone had apparently settled himself to rest, it is supposed that he inflicted the wound on his neck which caused his death.

'The wound, which was inflicted with a penknife, intersected the windpipe between two of the cartilaginous rings which form that organ, and amount to what surgeons style the operation of bronchotomy; it was dressed, but only with a view to prolong life till the fatal hour of one o'clock, appointed for the execution, to which end the cart was prepared, and an escort of cavalry and infantry under orders to attend it. But in the meantime a motion was made in his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, then sitting, to arrest execution, grounded on an affidavit sworn by the father of the prisoner, that he had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, on a charge of high treason, before a military court of seven members, sitting in the barrack of Dublin,

though he did not belong to his Majesty's army; while his Majesty's Court of King's Bench was sitting, before which the prisoner might have been tried in the ordinary way. Mr. Curran, who ably argued the point, moved that an *Habeas Corpus* do issue forthwith to bring up the prisoner instanter.

'The court immediately complied, and the officer who served the order on the provost-marshal returned with answer, that Brigadier-Major Sandys said he would comply with no orders but those of the commander-in-chief of the garrison. The court immediately directed the sheriff to repair to the barrack, take Mr. Sandys into custody, and bring him before the court. The sheriff, on his return, reported that Major Sandys was not to be found; that he had seen General Craig, at whose instance he accompanied the surgeon to Mr. Tone, and that the surgeon reported the prisoner could not be removed to court, without danger of instant death.

'The surgeon attended and made affidavit to the same effect, and the return of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* was postponed for four days, and the court ordered the sheriff in the meantime to take the body of Theobald Wolfe Tone into his protection. In this situation he continued until Monday, November 19, when he died, having suffered most excruciating pain for eight days.

'His body was delivered to his parents for interment.'[1]

[1] *Dublin Magazine.*

His son thus speaks of his last moments:

'Stretched on his bloody pallet in a dungeon, the first apostle of Irish union, and most illustrious martyr of Irish independence, counted each lingering hour during the last seven days and nights of his slow and silent agony. No one was allowed to approach him. Far from his adored family, and from all those friends whom he loved so dearly, the only forms which flitted before his eyes were those of the grim jailer and rough attendants of the prison; the only sounds which fell on his dying ear, the heavy tread of the sentry. He retained, however, the calmness of his soul and the possession of his faculties to the last. And the consciousness of dying for his country, and in the cause of justice and liberty, illumined, like a bright halo, his latest moments and kept up his fortitude to the end. There is no situation under which those feelings will not support the soul of a patriot.'

Thus passed away one of the master spirits of his time. The curse of Swift was upon this man—he was an Irishman. Had he been a native of any other European country, his noble qualities, his brilliant talents, would have raised him to the first honours in the state, and to the highest place in the esteem of his fellow-citizens.

His name survives, however, and his memory is probably destined to survive as long as his country has a history. Peace be to his ashes!

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THOMAS RUSSELL.

CHAPTER VIII.

THOMAS RUSSELL.

Malicious accounts—Parentage—Education—Five years' service in India—'Beautiful Bess Goddard'—Second love—Friendship with Tone—They establish Society of United Irishmen in Belfast and Dublin—Thomas Digges—Russell's embarrassments—Fresh career—Remarkable pamphlet—Extracts—Arrest—Correspondence—Verses—Arrival in Paris—Disastrous mission—Government reward—Trial—Affecting speech—'The Grave of Russell'—His character and motives.

Two brief notices of the life of Thomas Russell have been given to the public—one in the 'Ulster Magazine' of January 1830, and another in 'Fraser's Magazine' of November 1836. The former of these is accurate, so far as it goes, but the account is too meagre to give a sufficient insight into the character and motives of one who was among the founders and leading members of United Irishmen. The notice referred to in 'Fraser's Magazine' was written by Mr. M'Skimmin, a weaver of Carrickfergus, and revised for publication by a gentleman of high standing in literature in London, who would have lent no hand to its publication had he known the misstatements and misrepresentations it contained. M'Skimmin was a man of very remarkable attainments for his position in life, and in his 'History of Carrickfer-

gus' displayed considerable research and ability; but the political atmosphere in which he lived had given so strong a bias to his opinions that it had disposed him to turn his attention wholly to the faults and follies of the unfortunate northern leaders of the United Irishmen, and to ignore the excellent qualities for which many of them were remarkable. He maintained that assassination was recognised by the United Irish Society in Dublin, and that a committee duly appointed for this horrid purpose acted in Belfast, two of whose members he named as instigators of, and parties to, a regularly organised system of assassination; but when it is stated that Thomas Addis Emmett was one of the members named by M'Skimmin, it is unnecessary to take much trouble to rebut the gross misstatements of this man.

In a letter dated January 1837, a friend of Russell's, a gentleman of the highest character and of opposite political sentiments to the latter, in reference to the injurious light in which the character of Thomas Russell had been placed in the article called 'The Secret History of the Insurrection of 1803,' stated 'that he had made an inquiry into the accuracy of the statements respecting Russell, and, through the kindness of several individuals, he had recovered various documents of his, and others relating to him, which, with many original papers previously in his possession, enabled him to say that the entire article in question was far from being correct or consistent with truth, and, as far as regarded Russell, he was pre-

pared to prove that it was a compilation containing very gross misstatements. Hope, in reference to M'Skimmin's article, says: 'The account of the insurrection of 1803, called "its secret history," is the labour of a man suspected by the people in 1798, who fled from his home to the Castle of Carrickfergus, where he served in a corps of invalids. In this account a few facts are interlarded with much fiction, truth has been suppressed where it was not palatable, and, altogether, the article is a malicious fabrication, and I declare it a total misrepresentation of the facts communicated by me and calculated to lead the future historian astray.' So much for the notice of Russell in M'Skimmin's statement and the degree of credit to be attached to it.

Thomas Russell was born at Betsborough, Dunnahane, in the parish of Kilshanick, county Cork, November 21, 1767. The family originally came from Normandy and settled in the neighbourhood of Taunton, in Somerset, from whence, in the times of the trouble in England, some of the members went to Ireland, and became fixed residents near the city of Kilkenny.

His father, John Russell, was originally intended for the church, but afterwards entered the army. He saw a great deal of service; was at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, where his company of grenadiers was nearly cut to pieces; in 1761–2, served in Portugal, in the foreign auxiliary force, under the command of the Count de Lippe-Schom

berg, to whose staff he was attached, having been selected, on account of his acquirements, to act as interpreter to his general.

On Captain Russell's return to Ireland, he was placed in a high situation in the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham; there he died at a very advanced age in December, 1792. Thomas Russell was entirely educated by his father, and, being intended for the church, was early initiated in the Greek and Latin languages and well grounded in mathematics. At the early age of fifteen he went out as a volunteer to India with one of his brothers, Captain Ambrose Russell, of the 52nd regiment. Thomas Russell, for his conduct in the field, was commended by Sir John Burgoyne for a commission in his brother's regiment; part of it was ordered to Pondicherry, where Russell acted as aide-de-camp to Colonel Barry, and, the colonel being wounded in some engagement, Thomas Russell brought him off the field. On his return to Madras he was appointed to one of the newly raised regiments, which were subsequently reduced, and an order issued for all officers on half-pay to return to Europe. Thomas Russell quitted India after five years' service, which had made him favourably known to Sir John Burgoyne, Lord Cornwallis, and also to the Honourable Colonel Knox. On his return to Europe he intended to enter the church, pursued his studies for that purpose, and even went to the Isle of Man to be ordained; it seems that some regulations had to be complied with, previous to ordination, which

necessitated his return to Ireland. Soon after this event, however, his purpose was abandoned and he was appointed to the 64th regiment by Sir John Irwin.

About this period he made the acquaintance of a young lady named Elizabeth Goddard, of whom, in his diary, he constantly speaks in terms of the most impassioned admiration and ardent affection. Scraps of verses, some of them full of poetry, as well as passion, are intermingled with his notices of his meetings with her, and all are devoted to the celebration of her beauty or the expression of his own devotion. Russell's passion for the 'beautiful Bess Goddard' was a hopeless one; either diffidence or pride prevented the lover making a declaration of his feelings, till the information reached him that the young lady was engaged to another. In 1795 she became the wife of a Mr. Kington, of Newry.

But if the 'course of true love never did run smooth,' the current in this case, as in most others, gradually regained its former smoothness. About a year after the marriage of Miss Goddard, Russell formed an attachment for Miss Sims, the sister of his friends William and Robert Sims, of Belfast. James Hope says that Russell spoke of Miss Sims in terms of sincere affection; and the impression left on Hope's mind was that his friend was strongly attached to her.

Tone's passion for raillery and grave irony as displayed in his journals has led to the formation of

very erroneous opinions; of some of the men he speaks under ridiculous nicknames, and often taxes them with defects the very opposite of their most prominent virtues and estimable qualities. Thus, Russell figures in his journals as P. P., parish priest, a profane person, swearing occasionally, frequently 'very drunk,' 'gloriously drunk,' and disorderly. But when Tone, in France, hears of the arrest of his friend, he thus speaks of him, in allusion to the mention he had made of him in his journals: 'My heart smites me when I think of the levity with which I have spoken of my poor friend Russell, under the name of P. P.' The fact was, Russell's well-known gravity of deportment and demeanour, his strong sense of the importance and value of religion, his habitual decorum and propriety in social intercourse, were made the subject of ironical jocularity in Tone's diaries. What he really thought of Russell may be gathered from the following passages which are taken from Tone's 'Life':

'About this time I formed an acquaintance with my invaluable friend Russell, a circumstance which I look on as one of the most fortunate of my life. Suffice it to say, that to an excellent understanding he joins the purest principles and the best of hearts. I wish I had ability to delineate his character, with regard to his talents and virtues. . . . I think the better of myself for being an object of esteem to such a man as Russell.'

In his diary, referring to the intelligence of the

arrest of Russell, Tone says: 'It is impossible to conceive the effect this heavy misfortune has on my mind; . . . if Russell and Neilson fall, where shall I find two such men to replace them? My poor friend Russell, with whom I have spent the happiest hours of my life, and whom I love with the affection of a brother.'

Russell having joined his regiment in Belfast, found the people so much to his taste, and rendered himself so agreeable to them, that he was speedily admitted into their confidence and became a member of several of their clubs. Up to this time his pursuits and tastes had been entirely of a literary kind. To use his own words to a lady: 'Burke's "Sublime and Beautiful" had more charms for him than all the speculations of Mr. Paine on the "Rights of Man."' He was then a loyal subject, entertaining strong theoretical opinions of the advantages of republican institutions, united with monarchical government, and above all of the truth of the maxim, that the end of good government was the happiness of the great body of the people. This opinion, from the outset of his career to the close, seemed to be the guiding one of his politics, unmixed with selfish feelings, unalloyed with objects of ambition, entertained with sincerity, supported with singleness of purpose, and with enthusiasm that bordered on exultation that might mislead his judgment, but could not leave a suspicion of his integrity, or of the rectitude of his intentions.

Russell's acquaintance with Tone, which began in the year 1789, had a mighty influence on his career. Soon after he joined his regiment in Belfast, he made the acquaintance of the leading men of liberal politics in the town. At the instance, or with the concurrence of some of them, he wrote to Tone, requesting him to prepare a declaration for the Belfast Volunteer Company, which Tone accordingly did, alluding in one passage to the Catholic claims. But that passage was withdrawn, and the withdrawal of it set Tone 'thinking more seriously than he had done on the state of Ireland.' Tone went to Belfast in 1791, at Russell's request, and was introduced by him to all the leading men of the town, and the members of the secret society, who regulated the political movements of the place. The first Society of United Irishmen was formed on the occasion of this visit. Russell accompanied Tone to Dublin, where they likewise established the society.

Among Russell's acquaintance in Belfast in 1791, there was a very remarkable person, an American, of the name of Thomas Digges, who had been employed in England in the capacity of American agent for the exchange of prisoners. This man carried the art of deceiving persons of first-rate talents farther and with more success even than most of his class. Everyone found him a man of extensive information, of specious address, of conversational powers that seemed to belong to a vigorous understanding, and all persons of note in the town received him into

their houses ; his society was courted, and his opinions received with respect. His plausibility imposed on men of all professions and avocations—doctors, divines, lawyers, votaries of literature, merchants, politicians of all shades of liberal opinions. As an American, the *naïveté* and ultral-iberalism of his downright democratic principles was tolerated, even by those who hated republicanism. Digges' republican notions extended, at length, to property as well as to political privileges ; he borrowed a pair of silver spurs from Samuel Neilson which he did not think it worth his while to return. He was arrested in Belfast in the autumn of 1791, and poor Lieutenant Russell was induced to go bail for him for a debt amounting to 200*l.* Before the time fixed for the payment of the bond, Digges was imprisoned for theft. He contrived, however, after some days' confinement, to effect his escape, and finally returned to his own country, where he lived in easy circumstances.

Russell's sanguine and enthusiastic temperament was the occasion of the embarrassment in which he was placed ; he was compelled to sell his commission to pay the debt of the swindler Digges, but previous to this he had been connected with the leading political men in Belfast, which connection and his conversion to their opinions he attributed chiefly to the influence of Mr. William Sinclair, a gentleman who afterwards seemed forgetful of the share he had in the ruin of poor Russell.

After the sale of his commission, Russell was

left almost entirely without resources. In the latter part of 1791, he went to live at Dungannon, and through the interest of his friend Colonel Knox was placed in the commission of the peace for the county of Tyrone, and appointed to the situation of Seneschal of the Manor Court at Dungannon. This appointment he only held nine months, and then resigned it from conscientious feelings, having differed from his brother magistrates of the county respecting the mode of deciding questions between Catholics and Dissenters, and having publicly stated on the bench that '*he could not reconcile it to his conscience to sit as magistrate on a bench where the practice prevailed of inquiring what a man's religion was before inquiring into the crime with which a prisoner was accused.*' These words ought to be inscribed on Russell's tomb. At that period there were also differences between the linen merchants and the weavers, and Russell's sympathies with the latter caused him to be looked on with suspicion as a man with dangerous leanings towards the people, in fact a Republican. After throwing up his appointment he returned to Belfast, and, being without resource or employment, was dependent solely on the kindness and liberality of Dr. M'Donnell, in whose house he lived for a considerable time. The situation was then obtained for him of librarian to the Belfast Library, and it was while holding this appointment that the idea was suggested by him of founding the Belfast Academical Institution.

Russell's intimate connection with the Society of United Irishmen, as an active member, busily engaged in promoting its views, may be dated from his return to Belfast in October 1792. When the alteration was made in its constitution, and it became a secret society, he was made a sworn member of it by Mr. John Agnew Farrell, of Meaghermon, near Larne, a linen bleacher. The three individuals who were the most active of the northern leaders were Neilson, Russell, and M'Cracken; the two latter were closely connected and warmly attached to each other.

Russell wrote a great deal in the 'Northern Star,' and other periodicals of similar politics. Several of the poetical pieces of considerable merit, in these publications, are attributed to him.

In the summer of 1796, a pamphlet was published in Belfast by Thomas Russell, which rapidly passed through two editions, and drew the attention of Government to its author, who, on the title-page, had the boldness to style himself 'An United Irishman.' In this remarkable production, the state of the country, and of the question of Catholic emancipation, is reviewed. The following passages from it afford a fair specimen of its style, and of the writer's ability in the treatment of his subject:

'"A Letter to the People of Ireland on the Present Situation of the Country," by Thomas Russell, an United Irishman.

'It is a goodly thing, brethren, to dwell together in unity.—*Psalms.*

'From the time that the convention of Volunteers failed in obtaining their great object of reform, in the year 1784, the spirit of the nation gradually declined; and in the year 1791, and the preceding ones, it may be said to have been utterly extinguished. The prosperity of reform seemed to be allowed by all but those who had an interest in the Government; and it was lost by that body not espousing the claims of the *Catholics*. By this, it became only an effort of *part* of the people, and was lost, and deserved so to be. This dereliction of Catholic claims did not arise from a want of liberality in the bulk of the Volunteers (for their resolutions and declarations, particularly the northern ones, at the time of the memorable and illustrious institution, assert the right of the Catholics in the most explicit manner); but from their placing too great a confidence in *their leaders*, who were men of the first lordly and landed interests in Ireland, and who shamefully and meanly deserted the people.

'The Catholics at that time were led, from the dereliction of their cause by the convention, to entertain no hopes from the liberality or justice of the Protestant or Dissenting interest. The great mass of that body were then and before ignorant of, and

uninterested in, the general politics of Ireland. Unacquainted with the remote cause, they felt nothing but the oppression of the tax-gatherer, tithe proctors, and their landlords. Unconnected by any band of union, and having none of ability, education, consequence, or integrity to espouse their cause, they remained in a state of hopeless despondency; or, if any attempted to redress what they conceived to be grievances, by partial disturbance, they were crushed in a moment by the power of Government, supported by the whole landed and ecclesiastical bodies. Severe punishments were inflicted; and the most odious ideas of criminality were annexed to those unfortunate offenders, while no serious inquiry was instituted into the real or supposed grievances which led these wretched and ignorant beings to transgress laws which they had no share in framing; but which, if they did not obey, death or exile, or such punishment as the framers thought proper to annex to the action, was certain to follow.

'Such a system must and did produce a degradation of spirit; and they looked up, not to justice and rights of nature, but to the discretion of the landlords and magistrates. The Catholic gentry, with some exceptions, were men who, being precluded by the laws from sharing any of the power of Ireland, to which their fortunes and families gave them pretensions, could only engage in the pleasurable pursuits of the times; and from an adherence to their conscience, found themselves inferior, in point of

political consequence, to every petty Protestant squire. Personal courage, necessary to protect them from personal insult, they possessed to an eminent degree; but a century of slavery had divested them of political courage or a wish for political disquisition. Their most daring and adventurous spirits acquired in all the armies of Europe (England excepted) an high and deserving reputation. By them it was that the name of Ireland was heard out of its limits; for otherwise, the town of Birmingham was as well known, and possessed as much weight in the scale of Europe and the British Empire, as the island which we inhabit has ever done since the capitulation of Limerick. . . .

'The only political organisation of the Catholics was a committee, composed of some members elected mostly from the city of Dublin, and in which the Catholic lords and some of the gentry assumed the right of voting. They were a body which made humble applications to Government from time to time, but were very little attended to. The impression which Government, and not unsuccessfully, wished to make on them was, that Government were willing to serve them, but that the Presbyterians and Protestants were against it, and so recommended loyal and dutiful behaviour. Indeed, of so little consequence were the Catholics considered, that in the summer of 1790 or 1791, the then Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Westmoreland, being in the South, refused to receive a dutiful and loyal address from the Catholics

of one of the southern cities, because in it they expressed a hope that their case might be taken into consideration.

'There was no national spirit in Ireland; on the contrary, the anniversary of those events which led to the degradation of the country was celebrated, strange as it may appear, by Irishmen with martial pomp and festivity, differing in this from all nations, ancient or modern. If any felt differently, they prudently concealed their sentiments.

'The great Protestant landholders had the representation of the people, as it is called, in their own hands; the power of returning members to the House of Commons, even for counties, with one or two exceptions, was in the hands of a few leading men in each district. When these could not agree as to the person who was to be called a representative of the people, the speculations ran, "that my Lord Such-a-one's interest, joined to Sir John Such-a-one, would succeed in returning Mr. Such-a-one against the Marquis of Such-a-one." As to the interest or wishes of the community, that was not pretended to; and the men thus returned had the power, for the power of England was to support them, of taxing the people of Ireland to what amount their honour and consciences directed. It was an easy, pleasant, and lucrative task to govern such a country; the person sent over had only to engage so many of the great land and borough holders in his interest as insured a hollow majority in the Commons, and as these gen-

tlemen and their friends could be remunerated by the taxes they imposed on Ireland, and the places created there, it did not cost the English agent much. However, as economy is a virtue, it was practised by the English agent in some respects, for he did not retain, except in cases of emergency, more than was sufficient to do the King's business; by this means he had a greater number of places and emoluments to bestow on his English friends, and such as were useful to the English ministry elsewhere.

'From this system, it is obvious that the interests of some of these landholders will in smaller matters clash with each other; though in the main object, that of holding in their hands the power of the country against the people at large, they will agree. In proportion, then, as the people show any desire to assume political consequence, these gentlemen will all unite with the English party against the common enemy—the people—and in proportion as the people are crushed and torpid, the separate interest of these gentlemen in counties and boroughs—making of roads, canals, excisemen, commissioners, bishops, judges, &c.—will be considered, and differences will arise; this will serve as a clue to the parliamentary debates. Let them be taken, for example, about the year 1791. . . .

'The aristocracy, or oligarchy, governed Ireland with despotic sway; such a system could be only upheld, first, by foreign and extrinsic power, which could at any time crush the whole nation; second,

by ignorance; third, by cowardice; fourth, by want of military resources in the people; or finally, by the disunion of the people among themselves. Now, as to the first, though England be the most powerful of the two nations, yet it is undeniable that much of that power has been, and now is, derived from the connection between the two islands; if any person doubts of this, let him consider the immense resources in provisions and men drawn from this country during the different wars in which England has thought proper to engage. Suppose every Irish soldier withdrawn from the English armies, what a figure would they make? How would they protect those foreign possessions which are so much vaunted of, and to which Irish merchants are forbidden to trade? It is said that the English fleets cover the ocean—how could these fleets be provisioned if Ireland did not furnish it? If every Irish seaman had been withdrawn from the English fleet on June 1, will any man in his senses say that that memorable victory would ever have been obtained? It were easy to dilate on this; and to push it still farther, by showing that if Ireland, instead of being neutral in any contest (particularly the present) in which England was engaged, was hostile, the commercial pre-eminence of England on which her political power is founded would not be eclipsed but extinguished. . . .

'The only cause adequate to depress such a people was disunion—so long as that prevailed, so long could this aristocracy plunder and insult the country, and

even quarrel among themselves for the division of the spoil with impunity; but whenever a *union* of the people takes place—when they once consider *all* Irishmen as their friends and brethren—the power of this aristocracy will vanish. Nor is this abstract reasoning; let facts be appealed to.

'In the year 1791, it was projected by a few individuals, who were abhorrent of the mode in which Ireland was governed, to banish religious prejudices, by effecting a union of Irishmen of *all* religious persuasions, and by that means to obtain a reform of Parliament, which should equally include Irishmen of *every sect*. . . .

'In this winter, the independent part of the Catholic Committee differed from their aristocracy of lords and gentlemen, and, by a decisive majority, freed themselves from those hereditary advisers. A few of these gentlemen published an address, such as Government wished—but, as all who isolate themselves from the mass of their party do, they soon became insignificant. That session produced some trifling relaxation of the Penal Code; but this did not deter the independent part of the Catholics, who persisted in urging their claims. The great body of Dissenters were rapidly embracing and promoting them; and the calling a General Committee of the Catholics, who could fully and indisputably represent the wants and sentiments of that body, still further promoted the great cause.

'From the moment that the attempt at union was

obvious, the aristocracy lost no opportunity of abusing the system, and all who were active in promoting it; and in the absurd and wicked language of that faction, the union of a people, so desirable to every man of virtue and religion, was called an *unnatural union*; but it was against the meeting of the Catholic Committee that their chief efforts were directed, and, in consequence, the grand juries at the summer assizes issued their resolutions, of which the sentiments and composition were equally contemptible. Those formidable denunciations, and the torrents of abuse which were poured forth in the public prints, did not prevent the meeting of the Delegates of the Catholics in Dublin, on December 3, 1792, a memorable day for Ireland. This meeting was sanctioned by the great body of the Dissenters, who by associations and resolutions enforced their claims—and this may be considered as the act, and the only act for a length of time, of the Irish people. Now what was the consequence? The very Government, who, some time before, slighted the Catholics and their claims, now *requested* to have the petition of the Catholics transmitted by them to the King, *and it was refused them*; and the very Parliament who met shortly after, and who had refused to listen to any alteration, now acknowledged the propriety of *a reform*, and were willing to concede one. Now it is obvious that this alteration could have arisen only from the union and spirit of the people; no other adequate cause can be assigned. Most people were then of opinion that the

great desideratum of Ireland, a reform, would be obtained, and it apparently required little ability to ensure it. Had the same line of conduct been pursued, the unity of action and design which had hitherto produced such great effects—if Catholic Emancipation had been considered but as a step, and as a step which would be almost useless, unless accompanied by reform—it probably would have succeeded. . . .

'At this time some individuals were anxious to know *how much* Government would grant to the Catholics. That any of the Catholics should be satisfied with a partial repeal of the Penal Code or even make the total repeal their ultimate object, was sufficient to prove a want of unity in the design. From the *instant* that the Government saw this, the cloud which hovered over them was dissipated, as if by enchantment; that *instant* they took their ground; the Catholic Bill was *procrastinated*; strong measures were adopted with the greatest harmony and unanimity by Parliament; *part* of the people was attacked; the most spirited part of the North was dragooned; proclamations were issued; Volunteers were disarmed; arbitrary punishments were inflicted; prosecutions were instituted; the Gunpowder and Militia Bills were passed; the nation was foiled in its pursuit, and *put down*; terror was the order of the day; it could scarce be believed but by those who were witness to it, how rapid the change was in the spirit of the metropolis; and so completely was the *common enemy, the people*, subdued, that long before the end of the

session some of the Opposition again ventured to rail at the Government. The Catholic Bill did not pass till the month of April, and it may be doubted whether, if the battle of Neerwinden and the defection of Dumouriez had taken place sooner, it would have passed into a law ; and had the royal assent been refused, there was no spirit in the nation to bring it forward in a shape likely to ensure its success. But though the bill did pass, yet the spirit of the people being for the time suppressed—the vital principle of union being for a time suspended—and the political powers of the country remaining in the same hands, it was to be expected that the bulk of the Catholics would feel the vengeance of every petty country aristocracy. *Irritated* by their late defeat, every man must see that this was the case ; witness the prosecutions of Fay, Bird, Delahoyd, Byrne, &c. ; witness the severities exercised on the lower orders of Catholics which continue to this day, and of which it is impossible to hear the true account without indignation and horror.

'It was plain that the Catholic gentry would be equally odious on the same grounds ; that any privilege to which they could aspire under the Act, that of being a grand juror or a magistrate, could only make them the tail of an aristocracy which detested them, and the only real consequence they could have, would be from their intimate union with the Catholic body. Their interest, then, as well as their duty, should have led them to make a common

cause with the Catholics of their country; by this it is not meant that they should support them in any improper proceeding, but that they should protect the poor with their fortunes, their ability, and their courage, whenever they were oppressed and maltreated merely as Catholics, of which the three last years afford so many cruel instances. . . .

'But it unfortunately happened that, in many instances, the Catholic gentry attached themselves to this aristocracy, or at least did not protect the people. This often arose from a fear of being implicated as Defenders, from the system of terror which was then spread, and from the want of that *political courage* which has been before mentioned. The consequence was, that such men, without acquiring the confidence or having any influence with the aristocracy, lost all weight and influence with the lower orders, and thus became both insignificant and insecure. That the lower orders, thus left to themselves, conceiving that they were oppressed and without people of knowledge or consequence to advise or protect them, should at times commit unjustifiable actions is not surprising This was another instance of the misfortune of want of union. And it is certain that the Catholic body, since the passing of that bill, have been regarded with a jealous eye, and have not derived from it that security and importance, nor Ireland that degree of freedom, which may be expected. The very summer following, such was the strength of Government and the weakness of the nation, that the Militia Act was

enforced, though it was so obnoxious to the people that it was resisted in many counties, and much blood was spilled before it was carried into effect: a formidable Irish army was raised, armed, and disciplined to keep Ireland in subjection; the armed peasantry of one country were employed to subdue the peasantry of another, who were resisting real or supposed grievances that they had felt in common. . . .

'The weakness of the country is still further exemplified by what occurred during the administration of Earl Fitzwilliam, and on his removal. When Mr. Pitt deemed it expedient to dupe the Duke of Portland and some more of his party, it was generally understood that part of the bargain was, that the Irish affairs were to be managed by them—and Lord Fitzwilliam's appointment was in consequence of that arrangement. This Portland party had some retainers in the Irish Parliament, who were part of the gentlemen of opposition, and they were to be in the administration under him; this was to be a Government of conciliation, that is, some unimportant concessions were to be made; but by them the great point, a blind obedience to the English influence and administrations, particularly in regard to the present war, was to be ensured. . . . The great measure of conciliation was, the repeal of the remainder of the Penal Code. It was understood that this was certainly to take place—addresses and petitions poured in from all parties in favour of it. However, so far from passing, this Governor was recalled, and the

addresses from all parts of Ireland requested his stay, and the passing of the bill: he was *removed*, and it was *rejected*; and the gentlemen of opposition, from railing at the French, the seditions, the Defenders, &c., were again at leisure to resume their old trade of railing against the Government. . . .

'One curious fact came to light by the removal of Lord Fitzwilliam, which shows what dependence is to be put in courts and statesmen, and should sink deep in the mind of every Irishman. He asserts in his letter, in *vindication* of himself, "*that his orders from England, and his own intentions, were not to bring on the Catholic question if it could be kept back.*"

'From that period, new laws of an oppressive and sanguinary nature have been enacted and enforced, for the purpose of extinguishing any spark of freedom that might yet exist. For the last eighteen months, a system of brotherly love and union, and a revival of national spirit, has been rapidly taking place among the people—it was to be expected that this would be opposed. Of late, a set of men have appeared in different parts of the North, styling themselves Orangemen, and professing themselves to be inimical to the Catholics. Some of these called Orangemen, in the county of Armagh, were undoubted execrable villains and plunderers; but many have taken that name and arrayed themselves by the instigation of artful and wicked men. Now, as these Orangemen can have no real interest in this, and as many of them are very ignorant, and as some of

them have appeared in places where no disturbance, on pretext of religion, had taken place; and as religious animosity was the engine by which this country was kept in subjection; this may be considered as the last effort of the enemies of Ireland to prevent that union which, when once effected, will terminate their power. . . .

'Great pains have been taken to prevent the mass of mankind from interfering in political pursuits; force, and argument, and wit, and ridicule, and invective, have been used by the governing party, and with such success that any of the lower or middle rank of society who engage in politics have been, and are, considered as not only ridiculous, but in some degree culpable; even those who are called *moral* writers employed their talents on the same side, so that at last it became an undisputed maxim that the poor were not to concern themselves in what related to the government of the country in which they lived; nevertheless, it is an error of the most pernicious nature, as will appear from considering the subject. Those insolent enslavers of the human race, who wish to fetter the minds as well as the body, exclaim to the poor, "Mind your looms, and your spades and ploughs; have you not the means of subsistence? can you not earn your bread, and have wives and get children? and are you not protected as long as you keep quiet? and have you not all that you can earn, except so much as is necessary for us to govern you? leave the government to wiser

heads and to people who understand it, and interfere no more!"

'Now in the first place, think who this Government have for the most part been; "by their fruits shall ye know them;" look at their fruits in history, and see what terrible calamities the perfidy, ambition, avarice, and cruelty of these rulers have brought on mankind; look at the people who are said to make laws for this country; look at some of that race who inherit great fortunes without the skill or capacity of being useful; those fungus productions who grow out of a diseased state of society, and destroy as well the vigour as the beauty of that which nourishes them. These are some of the wiser heads; these are the hands in which the people are to repose their lives and properties; for whose splendid debaucheries they must be taxed; and for whose convenience they must fetter even their thoughts.

'Now on what foundation do these arrogant claims rest? it is not superior virtue, for in such hands power should be vested; on a fair comparison it will be found that the aristocracy have not a superiority in that respect. Power, long continued in any mortal hands, has a tendency to corrupt; and when that power is derived from birth or fortune, and held independent of the people, it is still more likely to be abused; it is not that they contribute more to the support of the State, for that is manifestly not the case. Supposing, for a moment, that the whole of the expense was defrayed by the rich,

though they might, with some colour of justice, claim the exclusive right of making laws affecting property, yet this could never extend to laws affecting life—every man has a life to lose, though perhaps no property—laws, therefore, affecting life, should have his concurrence. But take any district, and see how much more the mass of the people pay than the governing party; and it is still more obvious, when the proportion which each pays according to his income is considered. Here, if a man of five pounds income pays one, the proportion to a man of one thousand pounds income would be two hundred pounds; but this proportion is not observed. . . .

'It is not here intended to question the right of landed property, but merely to show, as is evident from these considerations, that even in a pecuniary view, the mass of the people are entitled to a share in the government as well as the rich.

'Agriculture is the basis of all riches, commercial as well as others; the earth was given to man by Him who alone had a right to give it, for his subsistence; let not those then who raise the fruits of it among us be despised. But these are, in the language of the great, "the mob, the rabble, the beggars on the bridge, the grey-coated men, whose views are anarchy and plunder, and whose means are bloodshed and murder. Are such men to be trusted with power? No! Keep them down; do they complain, disregard them; do they resist, dragoon them; send an army

to burn their houses, and murder them with the bayonet or the gibbet."

'The God of heaven and earth endowed these men with the same passions and the same reason as the great, and consequently, qualified them for the same liberty, happiness, and virtue; but these gentlemen conceive themselves wiser than the Deity; they find that he was wrong, and set about rectifying his work; they find the moral qualities and political rights of their fellow-creatures commensurate with their fortunes; they punish the poverty which their own insatiable avarice in a great degree creates; and thus, as in every case when the will of God is departed from, instead of order, confusion, folly, and guilt is produced, either immediately or ultimately. How different was the conduct of him in whom we profess to believe! What did he, who knew the hearts of man, say of the great and powerful? He did not revile the poor—he comforted, he instructed, he blessed them, he forgave them their sins, and declared the judgments of God on such as laid on them grievous burthens and hard to be borne.

'Though it appears that the mass of mankind have a right to political freedom, yet the extent of the duty which is incumbent on every member of society in consequence, does not seem to be sufficiently attended to, notwithstanding it is a duty of the greatest magnitude, as will appear from the following considerations:

'1. No man can doubt that as a moral agent he is

accountable to God for the use to which he applies his money, his strength, his time, and his abilities.

'2. If one man was applied to by another to assist him in committing a robbery or murder, there can be no doubt that it is his duty to refuse, and not only so, but to endeavour to prevent the perpetration of the deed.

'3. If he was asked for money to carry such purpose into effect, he is bound to refuse; if he gave it, he would be as guilty of the design of robbery or murder as he who planned or executed it.

'4. No man, or set of men, let them call themselves or be called what they please, or be they ever so numerous, can make an act which is immoral in itself, proper, or can have any power to authorise its commission.

'5. Man is bound to refuse committing robbery, murder, or other sinful act, and to resist its being perpetrated, if resistance be in his power, whether he is ordered or incited by one or ten thousand. . . .

'The prosperity of a nation does not consist in the acquisition of immense fortunes by any class of men, such as merchants or landholders. The prosperity of a State has been well defined by the excellent Mr. Tytler in his "Historical Register": "If the majority can procure a comfortable subsistence with little labour, and have something to share with those who are in want, the state of the people is flourishing; but, on the other hand, if they feel that they can scarce live upon their income, and that this income can

only be procured by incessant toil, that the moment this toil is interrupted they are in absolute want, then the country does not flourish." Now it is notorious that the majority of the people in this country are in a state of extreme poverty, that is, by hard and incessant labour that they can subsist, and if sickness or accidents befal them, they are almost deprived of the means of existence. But, supposing, for a moment, that by the war, prosperity and affluence, sufficient to satiate avarice, was brought home to every individual of the nation ; still, if the war was unjust, this wealth would only be the fruits of robbery and murder. If the English, or any other people, think gold a sufficient cause to shed blood—if they are satisfied to fill the world with carnage and misery, that they may acquire cloves and nutmegs, and contracts, and slaves—let it not be so with us ; let justice be the rule of our conduct, and let us not, for any human consideration, incur the displeasure of the Deity. . . .

'Let not Ireland be considered as unimportant in the war ; immense sums have been voted to its support. It has been calculated that near *one-third* of the seamen in the British navy are Irish. Above 150,000 Irish soldiers have been employed in the war. Mankind are used to disregard actions which do not immediately fall under their observation. Let us for a moment consider the miseries which this multitude of men have inflicted on people who never injured them ; the number of our fellow-creatures

whom they have killed or mangled ; the widows and orphans that they have made, who cry to heaven for redress ; the plunder, violence, rapes, massacres, confusion, flight, affliction, anguish, despair and horror which they have occasioned, and which are incident to and inseparable from the execrable trade of war. Are then these dreadful scenes less real, or are the Irish nation less accountable for them because they are acted at a distance, because they occur in France, in Flanders, in Holland, in the Atlantic, in the East or West Indies, than if they occurred at home ?

'Consider, beside, the number of these, your countrymen, who have themselves perished by disease, famine, and the sword ; think of the men torn, without even legal process, from their destitute innocent families, under the name of Defenders, by a set of detestable ruffians ; crammed on board of ships of war, and there forced to fight in a cause which, perhaps, they thought wrong. The North American savages are superior to such a practice. When they go to war, every man of the tribe who disapproves of it is at liberty to remain at home or peaceably follow his avocations of hunting ; but here a man may be forced to act against his reason and his conscience, or be exposed to such torments as all men's fortitude is not equal to withstand. Are the Irish nation aware that this contest involves the question of the slave trade, the one now of the greatest consequence on the face of the earth ? Are they willing to employ their treasure and their blood in support of that system,

because England has seventy or seven thousand millions engaged in it; the only argument that can be adduced in its favour, *monstrous* as it may appear? Do they know that that horrid traffic spreads its influence over the globe; that it creates and perpetuates barbarism and misery, and prevents the spreading of civilisation and religion, in which we profess to believe? Do they know that by it, thousands and hundreds of thousands of these miserable Africans are dragged from their innocent families like the miserable Defenders, transported to various places, and there treated with such a system of cruelty, torment, wickedness, and infamy, that it is impossible for language adequately to express its horror and guilt, and which would appear rather to be the work of wicked demons than of men? If this trade is wrong, is it right for the Irish nation to endeavour to continue it? . . .

'It appears that the Irish nation have not that portion of liberty which would give them an efficient weight in their government; that this want of liberty arises from want of union among the people; that by union the people would acquire sufficient weight to give political integrity and virtue to their government, and liberty, peace, and happiness to themselves; and that they are bound by every consideration of interest, of reason, of justice, of mercy, and of religion, to pursue that union. . . .

'Thomas Russell.'

'Belfast, Sept. 11, 1796.

Russell's exertions in the cause of the United Irishmen were not confined to his assistance in the press and in the councils of the society ; he took a very active part in propagating the system in the counties of Antrim, Down, Tyrone, and Donegal. He was in the habit of making pedestrian excursions through these counties, and his efforts to gain over persons of the Presbyterian persuasion, notorious for their hostility to those of the Roman Catholic religion, met with more success than those of any other northern leader.

In the summer of 1796 the chief military command in the county of Down was assigned to Russell. Though his pamphlet was the means of drawing on him more closely the attention of Government, yet long before this, a letter addressed to him by Tone had fallen into their hands, in which letter sentiments of hostility to British interests were freely expressed. In April 1797, when a committee of United Irishmen were seized at Alexander's public-house, in Belfast, two boxes were broken open and the contents, among which were several letters of Russell's, were carried away. There can be little doubt that the eyes of the authorities were on him from this period ; however, no violent measures were had recourse to against him, but many efforts were made to draw him from a society of which he was one of the founders and leaders.

On September 16, 1796, in one of the periodical sweeps of terror of that period, Thomas Russell was arrested in Belfast ; and though he had received

timely notice of this event, he refused to take advantage of the information and surrendered himself to the doughty peer, the Earl of Westmeath. The prisoners were sent to Dublin, and, having undergone an examination before Mr. Justice Boyd, were committed to prison. Some were sent to Kilmainham; others, among whom was Thomas Russell, were confined in Newgate. When several of his fellow-prisoners were liberated on bail, it was suggested to Russell to offer security for his good behaviour; this he refused to do, on the grounds that 'his so doing would be an acknowledgment of having done something wrong, which he never would admit.' Russell remained in confinement until March 19, 1799, when he was embarked and sent, with the other State prisoners, to Fort George. Here he remained till the latter part of June, 1802, when the prisoners, in virtue of the compact entered into with the Government, and so shamefully violated by it, were at length permitted to leave the country.

Among some of the papers of Russell's which have been preserved, are portions of a correspondence between him and the well-known botanist and natural historian, John Templeton. A few extracts will serve to throw light on the character and pursuits of a man whom the writer in 'Fraser's Magazine' represents as a 'fanatic demagogue, bordering on fatuity, dreaming of nothing but "treasons, stratagems, and broils."'

The correspondence from which the following ex-

tracts are taken took place, at distant intervals, during the confinement of Russell in Newgate, and in Fort George, in Scotland.

'I would not,' he says, 'change places with any one of those by whose means I am here, nor do I repent, nor would I alter any part of my political conduct, for I acted as well as I was able for the good of my country and of mankind, and I know that I shall ultimately be tried by an infallible, just, and merciful Judge. . . .

'In regard of what you mention, that "I could get my enlargement by application to Government, but that I want an apology from them," your information has been erroneous. I have repeatedly and recently applied, by letter, to Mr. Cooke and Mr. Pelham, to be brought to trial, or liberated, but no attention has been paid to my demand. . . .

'I have often demanded my papers, but to no effect. They relate almost exclusively to science, and some to a work on history, which I had planned four years ago, and for which I had made many extracts, memoranda, &c. . . .

'You are right in supposing the Government have no charge against me; they make no secret of this. Mr. Pelham has declared it. I am only thought to be dangerous. What folly! . . .

'To such as had the misfortune to connect the cause of Irreligion with that of Liberty, I beg them attentively to consider France, for some years past governed by professed atheists and deists, to see them

introducing boundless profligacy by their marriage laws, sending others to the scaffold; and now a remnant of them, with detestable hypocrisy, trying to establish their power, endeavouring to bind the French, by other claims, to the feet of tyranny. *I trust this delusion is likewise over, and that men will see the only true basis of Liberty is Morality, and the only stable basis of Morality is Religion.* . . .

'So far from conceiving the cause of Ireland lost, or being weary of its pursuit, I am more than ever, if possible, inflexibly bent on it; for that I stay (if I can stay) in Europe; all the faculties I possess shall be exercised for its advancement; for that I wished to go to Ireland, not to reside, but to see how I shall be able to serve it, and that I can only know when at large. Every motive exists to stimulate the generous mind—the widows and orphans of my friends, the memory of the heroes who fell, and the sufferings of the heroes who survive. My very soul is on fire; I can say no more.'

The following lines, written in Fort George, by Thomas Russell, on Mrs. Emmett's visit to her husband, afford a specimen of his poetic taste:

Companions so brave, who in evil thus meet
For the glorious endeavour our country to free,
Amidst all our sufferings such moments are sweet
When brothers in bonds still united can be.
May Providence graciously grant this request—
May we live our dear country triumphant to see!
Or if this is too much, and it should be judged best,
May our deaths, like our lives, serve dear Ireland to free.

How delightful the thought that an object so great,
Embracing the rights and the freedom of all,
Can thus in a prison such transports create,
And in exile itself can our country recall!
That you who endeavour these rights to secure,
By arts, or by eloquence, science, or arms,
To courage like yours, find affections so pure,
And virtue and beauty devoting their charms.

The State prisoners were at length liberated on June 30, 1802; Russell had undergone an imprisonment of five years and nine months without a trial, and by the acknowledgment of the Chief Secretary, Mr. Pelham, without any specific information against him, and was thrown on the world, in a foreign country, without friends or resources, a ruined man. After proceeding to Rotterdam, in company with his friends, Emmett, Wilson, Sweeny, and Cormick, Russell arrived in Paris and remained there for some time in the house of a Mrs. Delaney, an Irish lady, whose husband had held a high situation in some Government department. A few months later, many of the other leaders had entered the French service, but Russell appears to have had no desire to accept a commission in the French army. He belonged to that party whose members had no faith in the French Government, and no opinion of the honesty of its intentions towards Ireland.

Robert Emmett arrived in Paris either in September or October, 1802, and on the strength of the co-operation which he had been led to expect, both at home and abroad, Thomas Russell was led to embark in Robert Emmett's undertaking. At a con-

ference held between them, *they determined on listening to proposals which began at this time to be broached, in a mysterious manner, by persons of rank and influence, hitherto supposed to be covert friends of the United Irish system, both at home and abroad.* The undertaking meeting with Russell's approval, it was agreed that Robert Emmett should proceed to Ireland and inform Russell when it would be advisable for him to return. This was carried out, and in the month of April, 1803, Russell was in Dublin, seldom venturing abroad, except by night. At length, some untoward circumstances induced the conspirators to fix an earlier day than the one that had been appointed, for the accomplishment of their designs. Russell, with the title of general, to have the chief command of all the forces in the North, was despatched to Ulster, accompanied by the man whose services were called into requisition on every emergency of extraordinary peril, and where extraordinary prudence, as well as fidelity, was required—James Hope.

Of the disastrous mission on which these two men were engaged, and of its ultimate failure, it is needless to give minute particulars. James Hope, in his account of the affair, says: 'Agents were among the northerns, advising them to wait until they saw how the south would act. . . . Nothing appeared among them but timidity and a desire to know what only concerned spies. . . . We were all beset with spies and informers—the principal leaders in particular. . . .'

That Russell entertained the most extraordinary and extravagant expectations of the general rising throughout the country was proved by a proclamation issued by him soon after his arrival in the North, and produced at his trial.

Thomas Russell, on his arrival in Dublin, had lodgings taken for him in Parliament Street, in the house of a gunsmith named Muley. Here he remained in seclusion till September 9, 1803, when he was arrested by Major Sirr. The prisoner was apprehended on suspicion of being some person of consequence connected with Emmett, but who he was was not known, or affected to be known, by the major.

The Government had offered a reward of 500*l.* for the apprehension of Russell, and a further reward of 500*l.* was offered, as 'part of a sum subscribed by some of the inhabitants of Belfast' for the aforesaid purpose.

The General Commanding in Belfast, Brigadier-General Campbell, offered a further reward of 500*l.* for the apprehension, or for information that might lead to the arrest, 'of the above-mentioned traitor.'

Russell was brought to Downpatrick from Dublin, in a carriage, accompanied by Dr. Trevor, Inspector of Prisons, whose mission, it would seem, was to act as spy on the prisoner, and to endeavour to extract information from him. Russell was confined in the governor's rooms, in the prison; an officer's guard was placed at the entrance.

The following extracts from a letter to Miss

M'Cracken, written shortly before his trial, show what his opinion was as to its result, and his feelings with respect to the failure of his efforts :

'Humanly speaking, I expect to be found guilty, and immediately executed ; and as this may be my last letter, I shall only say that I did my best for my country, and for mankind ; errors, from my fallible judgment, I have doubtless committed, and I beg their pardon for them—for I have no wish to die—but far from regretting its loss, in such a cause, had I a thousand lives, I would willingly risk or lose them in it ; and be assured liberty will, in the midst of these storms, be established, and God will wipe off the tears from all eyes.'

Miss M'Cracken no sooner heard of Russell's having been sent to Downpatrick, than she used every effort to save her unfortunate friend. So much tenderness of heart, mixed with so much heroism and energy in the practice of benevolence, are seldom found united in the same being. Miss M'Cracken went among her friends and those of Russell, and collected a sum of about 80*l.* The remainder was made up by her, and the lawyers were brought down. Joy strenuously defended his client, and told Miss M'Cracken, after the trial, 'he never in his life felt so interested for any man.'

On October 19, 1803, at a special commission at Downpatrick, Thomas Russell was tried before Baron George, on a charge of high treason. The Attorney-General, Mr. Standish O'Grady, and the Solicitor-

General, Mr. M'Clelland, both subsequently Barons of the Exchequer, prosecuted for the Crown ; Counsellors Joy and Bell defended the prisoner. Various witnesses were called, who gave somewhat contradictory evidence, to prove that the prisoner had endeavoured to stir up the people into rebellion, and a proclamation issued for this object by him was produced.

After the statement of the case and evidence had been gone through on the part of the Crown, the prisoner said he considered himself precluded, as a man of honour, from any defence. 'There are,' he said, 'but three possible modes of defence—first, by calling witnesses to prove the innocence of my conduct ; secondly, by calling them to impeach the credit of opposite witnesses ; or by proving an alibi. As I can resort to none of these modes of defence, without involving others, I consider myself precluded from any.'

The following account of the conduct of Russell during his trial is taken from a letter written by Miss M'Cracken :

'The composure, dignity, and firmness of our beloved friend, both on his trial and at the last awful scene, commanded the esteem, admiration, and astonishment of all who beheld him. Those even who had never before had the pleasure of his acquaintance, and who had only for a few days an opportunity of conversing with him, found themselves attached to him by an extraordinary and irresistible impulse,

such as they had never felt for any man before. Even those who had been most active in pursuing him to death, now launch out in his praise, and lament the necessity they imagine themselves to have been under of making him a sacrifice. . . .

'At the conclusion of his trial, he addressed the court in a speech the most beautiful, affecting, and dignified, during which the most profound silence prevailed, and all were compelled to acknowledge, however they might differ from him in opinion, that they believed him to have been actuated by the purest intentions.

'The execution took place about noon on October 21, 1803, the day after the trial. The Rev. Mr. Forde, a clergyman of the Church of England, attended Russell, in the brief interval between conviction and execution. He had been brought up in the Protestant religion; for some time during his residence in Belfast, previous to his first imprisonment, he so far seceded from the Church of England as to attend the Presbyterian place of worship. Mr. Forde observed that he made use of a Greek Testament; he said he was in the habit of reading it from choice in the original. Just before going to execution he gave this Testament to the Rev. Mr. Forde, in whose family it now is, and is kept as a relic. . . .

'On reaching the gateway where the preparations were made, Russell said, "Is this the place?" After ascending the platform, he spoke a short time to Mr. Fulton, and then looked forward through the gateway

to the troops and people who were beyond them, and in a clear firm voice said : "I forgive my persecutors ; I die in peace with all mankind, and I hope for mercy, through the merits of my Redeemer, Jesus Christ." He then turned round, and, addressing himself to the sub-sheriff and the few gentlemen who were present in the prison-yard, with an expression of great benignity and perfect calmness, said, 'Gentlemen, may God Almighty bless you all.' His manner was perfectly calm and collected. The cap was then put on—the planks knocked away. He died without apparently suffering.

'The executioner then lowered down the body ; the barrels and planks were removed, and the gates closed. The decapitation then took place, the gates were again opened, the barrels and planks replaced, and the executioner, holding the head *in his hands*, displayed it for an instant, and the gates were again closed.'

The above account was received from a gentleman of the name of Anderson, living in Downpatrick, who was present at the execution, on duty.

Russell was buried in the churchyard of the parish church ; a plain slab is laid over his grave, and on it is written :

'The Grave of Russell.'

We must remember that we are now reading the life of Thomas Russell by the glimmering light of the history of the failure of his attempt, and judging

of his actions, without being sensible of so doing, by the record of his conviction at Downpatrick, and the remembrance of the obloquy which that conviction carried with it. Had that attempt been successful, or had that trial at Downpatrick terminated in an acquittal, how mightily would our opinion of his intellectual and moral qualities have been enhanced !

Men like Russell, of exalted notions of honour, of purity of principle, of unswerving integrity, of unbounded confidence in others, whom they judge of as they would be judged by them, of great hopes in the justice of their cause, and of enthusiastic expectations of its success: these are the men whose blood brings forth, in due time, the buds and blossoms of liberty; they seem ordained to be its martyrs, and not the master spirits, who are permitted to lead its followers into the promised land.

There never was a man who loved his countrymen with more intense feelings of devotion than Thomas Russell. To the very intensity of those feelings is to be mainly attributed the unfortunate termination of his career. They misled his judgment, but the evils which an iniquitous Government, at the outset of his career, had inflicted on Ireland, were sufficient to bring sober-minded persons to that point of which M'Intosh speaks when he says, " Men feel more than they can reason," and he might have added, reason only as if they felt their wrongs were not to be endured.

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CHAPTER IX.

WILLIAM JAMES M'NEVEN.

Descent—Education in Germany—Return to Ireland—Catholic Committee—Represents Navan—Joins United Irishmen—Dangerous mission—'Protestant ascendency'—Secret Committee of House of Lords—Examination of M'Neven—Second examination—Arrest and imprisonment—Fort George—Visits to the Continent—Commission in French army—Resignation—Arrival in New York—Successful career—Marriage—Devotion to Ireland—Public ordeal—Domestic affliction—Severe illness—Death—Tribute to his memory.

One of the prominent members of the United Irishmen was William James M'Neven. He was descended from a family which had possessed considerable property in the North of Ireland, which property had been transmitted in a direct line from father to son, until Cromwell's time. At that period, the sentence passed on the Irish who differed from the usurper in matters of religion was, "To Hell or Connaught;" alternatives which did not present much variety in the way of choice. The property of the M'Nevens was forfeited, and lands were allotted them in the wilds of Connaught; these lands they held until the year 1805, when, on M'Neven emigrating to America, they were sold. His uncle,

William O'Kelly M'Neven, had left Ireland many years before and settled in Germany, where, having attained eminence in the medical profession, he had been appointed physician to the Empress Maria Theresa, with the title of baron. When M'Neven was about twelve years old, he was sent for by his uncle to receive his education in Germany. Here he remained for eight or ten years, receiving an excellent education at the military college of Prague, and finally graduating at Vienna at the age of twenty. Baron M'Neven was a man of learning and science, and at his house his nephew enjoyed the society of the most polished and learned men of the neighbourhood. About the year 1794, M'Neven returned to Dublin, where he commenced the practice of his profession. By this he soon realised a handsome competency, and with every advantage of ability, education, and family influence, would doubtless have become eminent in literature and science, had the circumstances of the time permitted him to lead a retired and studious life. This, however, was not to be; the unhappy condition of Ireland called for the services of her sons, and M'Neven was not the man to be deaf to such a call.

For some time he had been a constant attendant at the meetings of the Catholic Committee in Dublin, and had been much interested in their debates. Among the members of the committee were nearly all the influential Catholics, both lords and commons. On one occasion a dispute arose as to the nature of a

remonstrance about to be offered to the Government. It was opposed by the democratic party, on the ground that it was too servile and obsequious in tone; while the aristocratic party approved it as being discreet and loyal. M'Neven warmly opposed the aristocratic party, and the measure was carried against them. In an address, published by the citizens of the town of Navan, he was heartily congratulated on the part he had taken, and from this may be dated the commencement of his public career. In the following year, 1792, a convention of Catholics having been called to ascertain their sentiments on the subject, the towns of Galway and Navan selected M'Neven as their representative; he chose the one which had previously distinguished him by its approval. In the meetings of the convention he made several able speeches, which were published, and also originated and effected the measure which obtained for the forty-shilling freeholders the privilege of elective franchise. It was probably about this time that M'Neven became acquainted with Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor, who explained their views to him and requested his co-operation. He gladly assented to their proposals, and became a member of the secret society of United Irishmen, from which time he devoted all his energies to the liberation of Ireland—his constant dream and desire. This devotion to public interests, however, did not interfere with the practice of his profession, in which he was very successful.

In the Catholic Parliament, as the Catholic Committee was often called, Dr. M'Neven was the leader of those who sought the right of the elective franchise, and during an exciting meeting he moved an amendment to the effect that the Catholics should demand it to the full extent it was exercised by the Protestants. The petition, thus amended, was presented to the King and graciously received. In the following session of Parliament a bill was passed in conformity with the petition, and to this act of M'Neven Ireland was indebted for the creation of that most courageous and patriotic class of citizens, the forty-shilling freeholders. The first great result of this creation was the election of Daniel O'Connell for the county of Clare, and the consequent emancipation of the Catholics.

Dr. M'Neven continued to take an active part in everything connected with the Catholic question, and was soon advanced to the chief executive office as one of the five directors of United Irishmen. Dangerous missions were frequently entrusted to him, and were promptly accepted. With the object of seeking arms, ammunition, and allies, he proceeded to Paris as the agent of Ireland, and was in constant communication with Theobald Wolfe Tone, then in Holland. While the doctor was in Paris, a peace was being negotiated at Lisle by the English and French Commissioners, which it was very important, for the interest of Ireland, to delay or prevent. M'Neven and Tone used every endeavour to effect a rupture of

the negotiations, or if they were unsuccessful in this, to place on the protocol a demand for the internal independence of the Irish Parliament, including the religious freedom of the Catholics. The English plenipotentiaries returned home without making peace, and an invasion of Ireland, which completely failed, was attempted the next winter.

On September 11, 1792, the corporation of Dublin passed a series of resolutions, unanimously setting forth their grand principle, 'Protestant ascendency,' and their determination to support it with their lives and fortunes. Having set forth the Roman Catholics to be in possession of—

'The most perfect toleration of their religion ;

'The fullest security of their property ;

'The most complete personal liberty ;

it was resolved, 'That we consider the Protestant ascendency to consist in

'A Protestant King of Ireland ;

'A Protestant Parliament ;

'Protestant electors and Government ;

'The benches of justice ;

'The army and the revenue ;

'Through all their branches and details Protestant ;

'And this system supported by a connection with the Protestant realm of Britain.'

The first Catholic convention ever called, responded to the sentiments put forth by the Dublin corporation. At a meeting of the delegates on Sep-

tember 3, 1792, Dr. M'Neven, in a very powerful speech, asserted the rights of his Catholic countrymen to the enjoyment of every privilege accorded to their Protestant fellow-subjects, and by his spirited attack on the corporation, inflicted a greater blow and a heavier discouragement on Protestant ascendency than it had ever sustained.

'It was this ascendency,' he said, 'that in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, like a ferocious tiger, devastated the land of our fathers, and after establishing its den on a depopulated waste, surrounded it, in a succeeding age, with the horrors of mental darkness; it was this ascendency that, breaking through the sympathies of nature, and the obligations of eternal justice, established the slow tortures, the recreant prohibitions, the unnatural, unmanly enormities of the Penal Code. It was this ascendency that annihilated the flourishing manufacture of woollens, that abandoned Irish shipping, shocked Irish commerce, and despoiled the nation of independence, as it now deprived the Catholic of franchise. It was that same spirit of rapacity and division which prowled for addresses, and instigated grand juries.

'Its opposition to justice had at length taught the people their resources; it stimulated virtue, awakened pride, and armed every passion of the heart in defence of the best interests of the country. They must now come forward manfully with the long list of their grievances in one hand, the charter of liberty

in the other, and arraign at the bar of national justice this monster, which strides over a prostrate land, and taunts the people from every ministerial print and grand jury, with the clanking of their chains.'

M'Neven ended his address by moving a *slight* amendment in the prayer of the petition for '*a participation in the elective franchise;*' he proposed that the word '*equal*' be inserted before that of 'participation.'

On the following day, December 4, he addressed the delegates in a speech no less powerful than the former, in support of 'a demand for *total emancipation*, as the most honourable, the most consistent, and the wisest measure for them to adopt; one that could not be withheld by the power in the country, and would not be opposed by the power out of it.'

M'Neven sailed from Yarmouth for Holland on July 7, 1797, on his mission from the Directory of the United Irishmen. At page 55 of 'The Pieces of Irish History,' he gives the following account of the knowledge of the British Government of the communications which had been carried on with France: 'Their knowledge of the negotiations of the United Irishmen with foreign states was equally notorious, and at this time one of the deputies had personal evidence of its extent and accuracy. That knowledge was obtained from some person in the pay of England and in the confidence of France.

'On March 12 preceding, after the arrests in

Dublin, Mr. Cooke told Dr. M'Neven that Government was in possession of a copy of the memoir given by him to the French minister, and he removed, in this instance, all suspicion of his own veracity, by detailing a great part of its contents. The day following, Dr. M'Neven was again questioned by the Anglo-Irish Privy Council concerning the same paper. Of this discovery he found means to inform several of his friends, and at the period of the negotiation he had the satisfaction of knowing that one of those persons was actually in France, and had, in all probability, already communicated the intelligence to the Directory.'

A garbled account having been given of the examinations of Dr. M'Neven before the secret committee of the House of Lords, on August 7 and 8, 1798, he published, conjointly with Emmett and O'Connor, an authentic account of what took place, and the following is a copy of it:

The Examination of William James M'Neven before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, August 7, 1798.

Lord Chancellor. Pray, Dr. M'Neven, what number of troops did the Irish Directory require from the French Government for the invasion of Ireland?

M'Neven. The *minimum* force was 5,000 men, the maximum, 10,000 men. With that number, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, we

knew that an Irish army could be formed and disciplined. This, aided by the universal wish of the people to shake off the yoke, we had no doubt would succeed; and we were always solicitous that no foreign force should be able to dictate in our country. Liberty and national independence being our object, we never meant to engage in a struggle for a change of masters.

Lord Chancellor. Was not your object a separation from England?

M'Neven. It certainly became our object, when we were convinced that liberty was not otherwise attainable; our reasons for this determination are given in the memoir; it is a measure we were forced into, inasmuch as I am now, and always have been, of opinion, that if we were an independent republic, and Britain ceased to be formidable to us, our interest would require an intimate connection with her.

Lord Chancellor. Such as subsists between England and America?

M'Neven. Something like it, my lord.

Archbishop of Cashel. In plain English, that Ireland should stand on her own bottom, and trade with every other country, just according as she found it would be her interest?

M'Neven. Precisely, my lord; I have not, I own, any idea of sacrificing the interests of Ireland to those of any other country, nor why we should not, in that, as in every other respect, be as free as the English themselves.

Archbishop of Cashel. Ireland could not support herself alone?

M'Neven. In my opinion she could, and, if once her own mistress, would be invincible against England and France together; but this, my lord, is a combination never to be expected. If necessary, I could bring as many proofs in support of this opinion as a thing admits of which may be only supported or opposed by probabilities.

Lord Kilwarden. Had the North any intention of rising in rebellion in the summer of 1797?

M'Neven. It had an intention of rising in arms after General Jake's proclamation.

Lord Kilwarden. What prevented it?

M'Neven. The people of the North were made acquainted with assurances received about this time from France, that the expected succours would be shortly sent to us; and it was represented to them, that we would be giving the English a great advantage by beginning before they arrived. For this, as well as other reasons, I was always averse to our beginning by ourselves.

Lord Kilwarden. Then if you thought you would have succeeded, you would have begun?

M'Neven. Most probably we should; at the same time I am bound to declare, that it was our wish to act with French aid, because that would tend to make the revolution less bloody, by determining many to join in it early, who, while the balance of

success was doubtful, would either retain an injurious neutrality, or even perhaps oppose it.

Lord Kilwarden. The Union held out to the poor an assurance that their condition would be ameliorated; how was this to be accomplished?

M'Neven. In the first place by an abolition of tithes; and in the next, by establishing such an order of things as would give more free scope to their industry, and secure to them a better recompense for it.

Archbishop of Cashel. Can you account for the massacres committed upon the Protestants by the Papists in the county of Wexford?

M'Neven. My lord, I am far from being the apologist of massacres, however provoked; but if I am rightly informed as to the conduct of the magistrates of that county, the massacres you allude to were acts of retaliation upon enemies, much more than fanaticism; moreover, my lord, it has been the misfortune of this country scarcely ever to have known the English natives or settlers otherwise than enemies, and in his language the Irish peasant has but one name for Protestant and Englishman, and confounds them: he calls both by the name of *Sasanagh*; his conversation, therefore, is *less against a religionist* than against *a foe*; his prejudice is the effect of the ignorance he is kept in, and the treatment he receives. How can we be surprised at it, when so much pains are taken to brutalise him?

Lord Chancellor. I agree with Dr. M'Neven:

the Irish peasant considers the two words as synonymous; he calls Protestant and Englishman indifferently, *Sasanagh.*

Lord Kilwarden. I suppose the religious establishment would be abolished with the tithes?

M'Neven. I suppose it would.

Lord Kilwarden. Would you not set up another?

M'Neven. No, indeed.

Lord Kilwarden. Not the Roman Catholic?

M'Neven. I would no more consent to that than I would to the establishment of *Mahometanism.*

Lord Kilwarden. What would you do, then?

M'Neven. That which they do in America; let each man profess the religion of his conscience, and pay his own pastor.

Lord Chancellor. Do you think the mass of the people in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught care the value of this pen, or the drop of ink it contains, for Parliamentary Reform or Catholic Emancipation?

M'Neven. I am sure they do not, if by the mass of the people your lordship means the common illiterate people; they do not understand it. What they very well understand is, that it would be a very great advantage to them to be relieved from the payment of tithes, and not to be fleeced by their landlords; but there is not a man who can read a newspaper, who has not considered the question of Reform, and was not once, at least, attached to that measure; the people of the least education under-

stand it; and why the common people, whose opinion on every other occasion is so little valued, should be made the criterion of public opinion, I do not know.

Lord Chancellor. I dare say they all understand it better than I do?

M'Neven. As to Catholic Emancipation, the importance of that question has passed away long since; it really is not worth a moment's thought at the present period.

Lord Dillon. Has the Union extended much into Connaught?

M'Neven. It has, very considerably.

Lord Dillon. I did not think so. What is the extent of the organisation?

M'Neven. Less, perhaps, than in other places; it got later into Connaught, but very great numbers have taken the test. From the misery of the poor people, and the oppressiveness of landlords in many parts of that province, we have no doubt but if the French ever land in force there, they will be joined by thousands, probably by the whole of its population.

Archbishop of Cashel. If the French had made peace at Lisle, as you say they were willing to do, they would have left you in the lurch; and may they not do so again?

M'Neven. The French Government declared that it would not deceive the Irish; and that it must make peace if England offered such terms as France had

a right to expect; but that if the insincerity of the Cabinet of St. James's should frustrate the negotiation, the Irish should never be abandoned; and I now consider the Directory as bound by every tie of honour never to make peace until we are an independent nation.

Archbishop of Cashel. What security have you that the French would not keep this country as a conquest?

M'Neven. Their interest and our power: if they attempted any such thing, they must know that England would not fail to take advantage of it; that she would then begin to get a sense of justice towards Ireland, and make us any offer short of separation, as she did America, when by a like assistance America was enabled to shake off her yoke; moreover, it is not possible for the French to send any force into this country which would not be at the mercy of its inhabitants; but the example which was held out to them, and to which they promised to conform, was that of Rochambeau in America.

A Member of the Commission. To what number do you think the United Irishmen amounted all over the kingdom?

M'Neven. Those who have taken the test do not, I am convinced, fall short of 500,000, without reckoning women and old men. The number regularly organised is not less than 300,000; and I have no doubt all these will be ready to fight for the liberty of Ireland, when they get a fair opportunity.

Lord Chancellor. We shall not trouble you with any more questions.

AUGUST 8, 1798.

Lord Castlereagh. Dr. M'Neven, the Lords have sent us the minutes of your examination before them, and we only wish to trouble you with some questions as to the interior state of the country.

Speaker. Pray, sir, what do you think occasioned the insurrection ?

M'Neven. The insurrection was occasioned by the house-burnings, the whipping to extort confessions, the torture of various kinds, the free quarters, and the murders committed upon the people by the magistrates and the army.

Speaker. This only took place since the insurrection ?

M'Neven. It is more than twelve months (looking at Mr. Corry) since these horrors were perpetrated by the Ancient Britons about Newry ; and long before the insurrection they were quite common through the counties of Kildare and Carlow, and began to be practised with great activity in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford.

Corry and Latouche. Yes, a few houses were burned.

M'Neven. Gentlemen, there were a great deal more than a few houses burned.

Speaker. Would not the organisation have gone

on, and the Union become stronger, but that the insurrection was brought forward too soon ?

M'Neven. The organisation would have proceeded, and the Union have acquired that strength which arises from order ; organisation would at the same time have given a control over the people, capable of restraining their excesses ; and you see scarcely any have been committed in those counties where it was well established.

Lord Castlereagh. You acknowledge the Union would have become stronger but for the means taken to make it explode ?

M'Neven. It would every day have become more perfect, but I do not see anything in what has happened to deter the people from persevering in the Union and its objects ; on the contrary, if I am rightly informed, the trial of force must tend to give the people confidence in their own power, as I understand it is now admitted, that if the insurrection was general and well conducted it would have been successful.

Sir J. Parnell. Do you know the population of Wexford county ?

M'Neven. Not exactly ; but people agree that if the insurrection of a few counties in Leinster, unskilfully as it was directed, was so near overthrowing the Government, a general rising would have freed Ireland.

Lord Castlereagh. Were not the different measures of the Government, which are complained of, sub-

sequent to various proceedings of the United Irishmen?

M'Neven. Prior, my lord, to most of them; if your lordship desires it, I will prove by comparison of dates that Government throughout has been the aggressor. (*His lordship was not curious.*)

Speaker (*looking at the minutes from the Lords*). You say that you wished to keep back the insurrection; how do you reconcile that with the general plan of arming?

M'Neven. From the time we had given up Reform as hopeless, and determined to receive the French, we adopted a military organisation, and prepared to be in a condition to co-operate with them; but it was always our wish to wait, if possible, for their arrival. We wished to see liberty established in our country with the least possible expense of private happiness, and in such a way that no honest man of either party should have cause to regret it. We had before our eyes the revolution of 1688, in which a popular general, with only a small army, gave the friends of liberty an opportunity of declaring themselves; accordingly, upon that celebrated occasion, the junction of the people of England with King William was so extensive, that war and its concomitant evils were entirely precluded. I know the case would be the same here if there was a French landing.

Mr. Alexander. Although talents and education are to be found in the Union, yet there is no com-

parison, in point of property, between those who invited the French and those who brought in King William.

M'Neven. Pardon me, sir, I know very many who possess probably much larger properties than did Lord Danby, who signed the invitation to the Prince of Orange, or than did Lord Somers, who was the great champion of the revolution. The property in the Union is immense; but persons in a situation to be more easily watched were not required to render themselves particularly conspicuous.

Speaker. But in case of a revolution, would not many persons be banished or destroyed, and their properties forfeited; for instance, the gentlemen here?

M'Neven. We never had a doubt but in such an event many of those who profess to be the warmest friends of the British connection would very quickly join us, and the readiness with which we have seen them support different other administrations, led us to suppose they might possibly do us the honour of supporting our own. I am confident, sir, that in case of revolution, the United Irishmen would behave better to their enemies than their enemies do to them.

Speaker. Was not the 'Olive Branch,' and the arms she had on board, destined for this country?

M'Neven. I never heard they were; arms have been frequently offered, but we always refused to accept them without troops; for we knew that insurrection would be the immediate consequence of a landing of arms, and we constantly declared to the

French Government, that we never meant to make our country a La Vendée or the seat of Chouan.

Speaker. Do you think Catholic emancipation or parliamentary reform are objects of any importance with the common people?

M'Neven. Catholic emancipation, as it is called, the people do not care about; I am sure they ought not now; they know, I believe, very generally, that it would be attended with no other effect than to admit into the House of Peers a few individuals who profess the Catholic religion, and enable some others to speculate on seats in the House of Commons. No man is so ignorant as to think this would be a national benefit. When Lord Fitzwilliam was here I considered the measure a good one, as it would have removed the pretexts of those feuds and animosities which have desolated Ireland for two centuries, and have been lately so unhappily exacerbated; but now that those evils have occurred, which the stay of that nobleman would have prevented, they are not little measures which can remedy the grievances of this country.

(*Speaker, looking over at somebody.* See that.)

Speaker. But are you not satisfied that reform would go as little way to content the people as Catholic emancipation?

M'Neven. Sir, I can best answer that question by declaring what the sentiments of the United Irishmen were at different periods. When Mr. Ponsonby brought in his first bill of reform, I remember having

conversed with some of the most confidential men in the North on that subject, and they declared to me they would think the country happy and likely to think itself so, by getting that bill. When he brought in his last bill, I am sure the country at large would have been satisfied with the same.

Lord Castlereagh. They would have been satisfied to effect a revolution through a reform.

M'Neven. If a change of system be one way or other inevitable, of which I have no doubt, and which you yourselves cannot but think highly probable, who can be so much interested in its occurring peaceably as you are? In any tranquil change you will retain your properties, and the immense influence which attaches to property; in such a situation you would necessarily have a considerable share in the management of affairs; and I cannot conceive how a revolution, effected in such a manner, would much confound the order of society, or give any considerable shock to private happiness.

Speaker. Don't you think the people would be dissatisfied with any reformed Parliament which would not abolish the Church establishment and tithes?

M'Neven. I have no idea of a reformed Parliament that would not act according to the interest and known wishes of the people. I am clear that tithes ought to be suppressed, and have no doubt the Church establishment would follow.

A Member. Would you not set up another?

M'Neven. Most certainly not; I consider all Church establishments as injurious to liberty and religion.

Mr. J. C. Beresford. Will you tell me what you understand by a free House of Commons?

M'Neven. One which should be annually and freely returned by the people, and in which their interests, for the most part, should direct their decisions.

Mr. J. C. Beresford. What do you think of pot-walloping boroughs? they afford a specimen of universal suffrage.

M'Neven. I know some adversaries of reform who have less reason to be displeased with them than I have; but they are a proof of how useless would be any partial reform, and that a thing may be noxious in a detached state, which would form a valuable part of a good system.

A Member. It seems we are reduced to the unfortunate situation of not being able to content the people without a reform which would overthrow the Church establishment, and break the connection with England.

M'Neven. If you be in that situation, give me leave to tell you it was brought on by the perseverance with which every species of reform has always been refused, and the contumely manifested towards those who petitioned for it. Discussion was provoked by this treatment and resentment excited; the consequences of which are now that the people would

probably exercise to its full extent whatever privilege they acquired, though, if timely granted, they would stop far short of the length to which it might be carried; this is the nature of man; but, sir, I see no necessary connection between the fall of the establishment and a separation from England.

Speaker. Sure, if the head of the Church was removed, the connection would be broken.

M'Neven. It might be preserved through the King, if the Irish thought proper to retain it. As the Parliament now exists, with two-thirds of it (if I may be allowed to speak frankly) the property of individuals in the pay of the British Cabinet, the connection is indeed injurious to Ireland, and it is rendered so by the Parliament; but if we had a free Parliament, there might be a federal connection advantageous to both countries.

Sir J. Parnell. Under that federal connection Ireland would not go to war when England pleased.

M'Neven. I hope not. Were the connection of this nature, it would probably have preserved England from the present war, and rendered her the same kind of service which might be expected from a free House of Commons, if she had one.

A Member. What has hitherto prevented the French from invading this country?

M'Neven. Nothing, I am sure, but inability; this, however, will not always last; and I have not the least doubt but when it passes off they will invade it, unless by a change of system you content

the nation and arm it against them; it will then defend itself, as it did before by its volunteers.

Speaker. What system?

M'Neven. A system of coercion, and a system of injustice, to be replaced by a system of freedom.

Sir J. Parnell. Would you not be disposed, as well as other gentlemen who may have influence with the people, to exert it, in order to induce them to give up their arms, without the intervention of force?

M'Neven. I cannot answer that question, unless I am told what equivalent is meant to be given them for such a surrender.

Sir J. Parnell. Pardon.

M'Neven. They never considered it a crime to have arms, nor do I; on the contrary, they have been taught and know it is a right of theirs to possess them. If any attempt is made to take from them their arms, they will mistrust the motives, and think, not without reason, that it is intended by such conduct to leave them naked, at the mercy of their enemies.

Sir J. Parnell. Pikes are horrible weapons, and I don't know but a law might be passed against them.

M'Neven. I am sure I have seen as strange laws passed without any difficulty; but one might equally as well be made against muskets and bayonets.

Sir J. Parnell. But pikes are not in the contemplation of the law which gives the subject the right of possessing arms.

M'Neven. I believe, Sir John, the law which declares that right to belong to every freeman was partly obtained by the pike.

Speaker. It was Magna Charta.

Lord Castlereagh. What is likely to be the effect of the insurrection that has just been put down?

M'Neven. It will teach the people that caution which some of their friends less successfully endeavoured to inculcate; and I am afraid it will make them retaliate with a dreadful revenge the cruelties they suffered, whenever they have an opportunity.

Lord Castlereagh. Will they, do you think, rise again?

M'Neven. Not, I believe, till the French come; but then, most assuredly, whenever they can join them.

Speaker. Will the people consider themselves bound hereafter by the oaths of the Union?

M'Neven. I suppose they will.

Speaker. Would you?

M'Neven. I who am going to become an emigrant from my country am dispensed from answering that question; yet I acknowledge, were I to stay, I would think myself bound by them; nor can I discover anything in what has passed to make it less my duty.

Speaker. Ay, you consider a Republican Government more economical?

M'Neven. Corruption is not necessary to it.

Speaker. How did you mean to pay the loan from Spain? I suppose from our forfeited estates.

M'Neven. Rather, sir, from your places and pensions. If I only take the pension list at 100,000*l.* (it has been considerably higher, and I believe it is so still), that alone would be sufficient to pay the interest of four times the half million we meant to borrow. I need not tell you that money can be got when the interest can be regularly paid. We conceive, also, there are several places with large salaries, for which the present possessors do no other service than giving votes in Parliament; another considerable fund would, we imagine, be found by giving these sums a different application.

Speaker. Do you remember Mr. Grattan's motion about tithes? Was not that a short cut towards putting down the Established Church?

M'Neven. If the stability of the Established Church depends on the payment of tithes, the Church stands on a weaker foundation than in civility I would have said of it; but sure I am, sir, that if tithes had been commuted according to Mr. Grattan's plan, a very powerful engine would have been taken out of our hands.

A Member. Is not the Union much indebted to the Roman Catholic clergy?

M'Neven. The principle of burying all religious differences in oblivion was warmly embraced by the Catholic clergy; some of them became more active members of the Union, and I make no doubt but they are in general well affected to the liberties of their country.

Speaker. Have not the priests a great influence over the people?

M'Neven. When they espouse the interests of the people, they are readily obeyed by them from the reliance that is placed on their better sense and education; when they oppose these interests, they are certainly found to have neither authority nor influence; of this I can give you two important examples. At the time the Catholic Committee was opposed by the *sixty-eight*, together with Lord Kenmare and his *marksmen*, a priest, between Kilbeggan and Moate, who endeavoured to seduce his flock to support the slavish principles of that party, was well-nigh *hanged* by his own parishioners, for what they deemed treachery to their interests. The other, a priest in the North, who thought fit to preach against the Union; the flock immediately left the chapel, and sent him word they would for that Sunday go to the meeting-house, and that if he did not desist from such politics in future, they would come near him no more. Of such a nature, gentlemen, is the influence of the Catholic clergy.

Speaker. Are the bishops much looked up to?

M'Neven. They are not, as far as I can learn, so well beloved or so much confided in by the people as the inferior clergy.

Speaker. Can you assign any reason for that?

M'Neven. I am inclined to believe it is because they are seen so much about the Castle, and because some acts coming from that body have manifested

an over-extraordinary compliance for the supposed wishes of Government.

Speaker. Did you see Dr. Hussey's letter? What do you think of that?

M'Neven. I have seen it and disapprove of it. As one name and paper is mentioned, I cannot help saying, that I have seen another letter, with the name of Dr. Moylan, which contained a remarkable falsehood in favour of Administration; but as this was only a pious fraud perhaps, I could never hear that they complained of it.

Lord Castlereagh. We will detain you no longer.

WILLIAM JAMES M'NEVEN.

Dr. M'Neven was arrested on March 12, 1798, imprisoned for some time in Kilmainham, and subsequently removed to Fort George. While at the latter place he devoted much time to study and research. Among other things he gave much of his attention to the writings of Ossian, many of which he translated from the original Gaelic. After the arrival of Mrs. Emmett and her children at Fort George, it became one of the recreations of the State prisoners to educate the latter; Dr. M'Neven instructed them in French, and compiled a French grammar for their use.

After his liberation he passed the summer and autumn of 1802 in travelling through Switzerland on foot, and wrote an account of his journey, called 'A

Ramble in Switzerland.' He also visited his relations in Germany during the same year.

In 1803 he went to Paris, and, in the belief that Ireland would be attacked by the French, and that he was devoting himself anew to the cause of his beloved country, he obtained a commission in the French army. This, however, he resigned, on finding that his hopes were doomed to disappointment, and in June 1805 set sail from Bordeaux for New York. That city he reached on the anniversary of the freedom of America. Dr. M'Neven presented his letters, and declared his intention of becoming a citizen ; he fixed on New York as his residence, and commenced the practice of his profession. In this he was so successful that he speedily assured himself an easy competence. In 1808 he was appointed professor of midwifery in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and in 1811 exchanged his chair for that of chemistry. In 1812 he was appointed resident physician to General Clinton. In 1816 materia medica was added to chemistry, and he gave instruction in both branches till 1820, when they were again separated.

In 1826, he resigned his professorship in the College of Physicians, and united with Drs. Hosack, Francis, Mott, and Godman, in the Duane Street School. Here, the chair of materia medica was again assigned him. This school was discontinued in 1830, and at that point Dr. M'Neven closed his career as a teacher. In 1832, during the cholera, he was

chosen one of the medical council, to whom was assigned the supervision of the hospitals and other establishments for the sick. In 1840, he was again appointed resident physician, an office which he resigned a few weeks before his death. He published, in 1820, an exposition of the atomic theory, which attracted favourable notice both at home and abroad, and about the same time, an edition of 'Brande's Chemistry,' which is extensively used as a text-book.

In 1823, he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society; he was also a member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, which society used to meet frequently at his house in Park Place. All those most eminent in science, arts, and literature, with any distinguished strangers who might be visiting the city, were convened on these occasions, and formed a brilliant circle.

Five years after his arrival in America, Dr. M'Neven married the widow of Mr. John Tom, a merchant of New York, and sister to Mr. Richard Ricker, an eminent lawyer, for many years known as District Attorney and Recorder of New York.

During the whole period of his residence in his adopted country, Dr. M'Neven took an active and prominent part in her politics, and supported her laws and constitution with consistency and firmness. Towards his native land his devoted attachment remained unchanged; he was ever active in her service, and seized every occasion which offered to promote the great object of her happiness. He was

a member of nearly every society formed in New York, having for its object the honour or interest of his countrymen. In the year 1828–9 he was appointed president of the society, 'The Friends of Ireland,' which contributed greatly to the means which ensured the success of the emancipation of the Irish Catholics. During the existence of this society, a large amount of Catholic rent was transmitted to Ireland, and similar associations were formed throughout the United States and even in Mexico. Dr. M'Neven wrote an account of its proceedings, read before the Literary Association of the Friends of Ireland, published in the 'New York Truth-Teller' of July 1830. He also took a warm interest in promoting, by every means, the welfare of emigrants to America, and was president of the Emigrant Society up to the period of his death.

In the spring of 1834, M'Neven passed through one of those ordeals which public men in America have occasionally to go through. Jackson's removal of the deposits from the United States Bank had been publicly spoken of by the doctor as 'unwise and unstatesmanlike.' Up to that time he had been a strenuous supporter of Jackson. A furious clamour was raised against him; he was accused of inconsistency, and of having accepted bribes from the bank to support its interests. Even the Irish press assailed him in the fiercest manner; he was mobbed, and would doubtless have been maltreated, if he had fallen into the hands of the enraged multitude. Some

of the lower orders of his own countrymen joined in this outrage on a man who had suffered imprisonment and exile in their cause, and who had devoted twenty-nine years of his life in America to their interests.

This trying occasion, however, only served to reveal the nobility of M'Neven's character. He gave expression to no complaint, nor would he allow others to speak harshly of his treatment. He said his 'poor countrymen had been deceived; they would soon find out their error, and make amends for their folly.' In a short time the usual mutability of public opinion was exhibited, and he found himself, as he expected, reinstated in his old position in public favour.

In December 1832, Dr. M'Neven received a severe blow in the death of his eldest son, a young man whose fine talents and amiable disposition had awakened the brightest hopes for his future, and whom his father could not, to the last day of his life, name without tears.

In the spring of 1838, M'Neven was first attacked with severe illness, and so much was his health impaired that he gave up the practice of his profession, and removed with his family to the residence of his son-in-law, Thomas Addis Emmett, about four miles from the city. The frequent and painful attacks to which he was subject were borne with Christian patience and philosophic fortitude. Books were an unfailing resource to him, and he read every-

thing with avidity. On November 25, 1840, as he was returning from the city, a heavy loaded waggon came in contact with his gig. M'Neven was thrown from it, and the wound which he received in the leg, combined with the shock of the fall, occasioned a long and severe illness. Throughout this he was remarkable for the serenity of his temper; the society of his family and friends was his greatest happiness, and he frequently spoke of his death with calmness and even cheerfulness. During the month of June his strength failed rapidly, and on July 12, 1841, he breathed his last.

A touching tribute to the memory of M'Neven has been paid by his daughter, who furnished many of the foregoing particulars. 'As a husband and father,' she says, 'he was most affectionate, and tender and indulgent to the greatest degree. He was a firm and faithful friend, and always willing to aid the unfortunate to the utmost of his power. I cannot forbear mentioning the generosity of his nature, which made him ever ready to acknowledge the talents of others and rejoice in their success.'

The most striking feature in M'Neven's character was an imperturbable coolness and self-possession, combined with the most remarkable simplicity of mind, and singleness of purpose; he was totally devoid of fear in the maintenance of his principles, and if the interests of the cause he espoused had called for any extraordinary effort, though its issue were to prove fatal to him, M'Neven would have

walked to the scaffold with the same air and aspect of composure that he would have gone with to his bed. There was nothing brilliant in his talents, or showy in his conversation; his abilities, however, as a public speaker were considerable, and one or two extracts from his early speeches give an idea of the plain sound sense, and strong conviction of the truth and justice of his cause, which distinguished the speeches of M'Neven.

As a lecturer, he was simple, clear, and animated; as a practitioner, judicious and efficient; as a man, amiable, honest, and kind-hearted; as a patriot, ardent, active, bold, disinterested; with him, the love of country was a passion as well as a principle, and when that country shall cease to cherish his memory, she will be utterly unworthy of him.

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BARTHOLOMEW TEELING.

CHAPTER X.

BARTHOLOMEW TEELING.

Descent—Luke Teeling—Unjust persecution—Bartholomew's childhood—Education—Mrs. Teeling—Military associates—Joins United Irishmen—Enters the Army of the Republic—Friendship of Lord Edward Fitzgerald—'Erin go Bragh'—Accompanies Humbert's expedition—Firing on the flag of truce—Battle of Ballinamuck—Teeling made prisoner—Humbert's remonstrance—Trial—The defence—Humbert's letter—Sentence.

The youthful subject of this memoir was of an ancient Catholic family. The history of it is strikingly illustrative of that of the country, with the fortunes of which its own has been, for nearly six hundred years, so totally identified, that there was no one of the afflictions of Ireland of the cup of which its members did not deeply drink, nor did any light break upon her dark destiny in the ray of which their hopes and their spirits did not quicken and revive.

The first of the name who figures in the history of Ireland was an Anglo-Norman knight, who, in the reign of Henry III., joined a formidable body, which appears to have embarked under the celebrated Earl, Thomas de Clare, for the subjugation of Munster.

The fate of this expedition, commanded by the most illustrious Englishman of his day, was like that of others of a similar character, such as the English historian has not thought fit to record.

Throughout the civil wars of the seventeenth century, the Teelings were faithful adherents of the royal cause, and the prostration of the House of Stuart, at the ill-starred revolution, brought with it the prostration of their house. The then representative of the family, an officer of King James's army, having fallen at the battle of the Boyne, his estate was declared forfeited, and under an Act passed in the 11th and 12th William III. sold for the benefit of the Crown.

The century which succeeded, if it was not the least agitated, was certainly the darkest and the most hopeless in the history of Ireland. The English are accustomed to say it was the most peaceful. 'They made a solitude and called it peace!' In this national obscurity we lose sight of the family of Teeling, and they are no more heard of till the close of the eighteenth century.

But when a hundred years had passed, the sleeping energies of our devoted people were once more aroused.

It was a fine saying of that noble-minded Jewess, 'Manure with despair, so it be genuine, and you will have a noble harvest,' and the elasticity of the human heart to resist the pressure of misfortune is illustrated in the history of nations, as well as in that of individuals.

After two or three efforts to regain their legitimate rights, the cause of the Stuarts became utterly hopeless, and their race was on the verge of extinction. The spirit of Jacobitism was gone from Ireland. But 'nations are not mortal like the men that inhabit them,' nor will a people perish even with a race of princes.

Not by the restoration of the ancient dynasty, but by admission within the portals of the new constitution, was the regeneration of Ireland to be wrought. And then began that remarkable system of peaceful and constitutional agitation, which has been productive of such wonderful and such happy results.

We find in the 'Life of Tone' that, in 'the beginning of December 1792, the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland, which first represented the whole strength of their body, opened their meetings ; and the single circumstance of their sitting with all the forms of a legislative assembly in the capital produced a kind of awe and stupefaction in the Government. Never did such a convention begin its proceedings under auspices more favourable. Their friends were roused, their enemies were stunned, and the British Government, extremely embarrassed at home, shewed no desire to interfere.'

Amongst the most distinguished of this body for talent and mental accomplishment, and foremost in the avowal, at least, of those bold and spiritual views, which have ever since prevailed among the Catholics, was Luke Teeling of Lisburn. Prefixed to the

recorded motion from the amendment of the first Catholic petition, and for the insertion of the prayer for total, unqualified, and unconditional emancipation, we find his honoured name.

Luke Teeling had acquired a considerable fortune in the pursuit of that branch of commerce which is regarded as the staple trade of Ireland, and to which Ulster owes its vast superiority to the other provinces in wealth and social comfort. It was established there by the French Huguenots, and in the aristocratic character of those who engaged in it, as well as in the large fortunes it returned them, seems to have resembled that which the Venetians established at Marseilles.

The linen merchants of the North of Ireland were, at the period of which I speak, somewhat of the same class of men as the merchants of that city when the Mirabeaus trafficked there, and the sons of men of the highest rank, and in some cases of title, were apprenticed to them.

The social position then, which Mr. Teeling occupied, was the very highest, and I allude to it particularly, because it was in connection with it that his political position was so peculiar. Ranking with the gentlemen around, he was altogether devoted to the service of the people; and exerting his great influence to procure parliamentary honours for those whom he regarded as the people's friends, he was himself under the ban of political exclusion.

In the return of the Hon. Robert Stuart (after-

wards Lord Castlereagh) for the adjoining county of Down, while his exertions were, perhaps, not less influential than those of any other individual, he was precluded from the exercise of the commonest right, that of the elective franchise.

As a Catholic he stood altogether alone. He possessed, therefore, the unbounded and almost exclusive confidence of the Catholics of the provinces. For Antrim he was chosen as a delegate to the convention as a matter of course. And the Protestant inhabitants of Belfast paid him the singular compliment of assembling together, and unanimously voting that he possessed their confidence too, and fully represented their opinions. How he performed the important trust which was thus reposed in him, will best be seen from the 'Account of the Proceedings of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland,' which I have no hesitation in saying is the very best fragment of Irish history extant.

An interesting account of the devastation of his property, and of his four years' imprisonment, will be found in the 'Personal Narrative' of his son (Charles Hamilton Teeling), as well as a series of letters written during that period to a confidential friend, which are replete with sentiments of philosophy and religion, and evince as high honour, as much intrepidity and practical fortitude, as anything I ever met with in tale or history.

The eldest son of the preceding was Bartholomew Teeling, who was born in the year 1774. The

characteristic qualities which distinguished the brief career of his manhood began very early to be developed. In childhood his spirit was most adventurous and bold, yet his temper was as gentle, and his disposition as tender and humane, as if he had been designed for a life of domestic tranquillity. He was impatient of wrong, and scarcely brooked the restraint which the stoical and somewhat severe principles of his father imposed upon him; but to his mother, whose idol he was, and to his sisters, he was warmly and tenderly attached. There was no youthful adventure too daring, or even extravagant for him; but nothing which inflicted pain, or which trifled with human misery, ever had his countenance. Even in boyhood his habit was thoughtful and studious; and he was placed, at an early age, at a very celebrated academy, which was presided over by a clergyman of the Established Church, the Reverend Saumarez Dubondieu, who is represented to have been a man of refined taste, profound erudition, and distinguished moral virtues. This establishment flourished, I understand, under the same enlightened master for more than half a century, and sent forth many men who became eminent at the bar, in the army, and in the senate, all of whom cherished in after life an almost filial attachment to their venerable preceptor.

Under this gentleman's tuition, Teeling acquired high classical and literary attainments, and pursued his studies with assiduity to the close of his career. Except when actually under arms, he made it an

invariable practice to devote some hours every day to reading. There is evidence of his taste in the volumes which remain of a library which he selected before he left Ireland, and I have seen several of them, all the works of masters in poetry, philosophy and history, and all distinguished by the careful erasure of a name which had been written on the title page. In the dispersion of his father's family, they had fallen into the hands of a friend, who, though sincerely attached to him, had regarded his own safety, and dreaded, in the reign of terror which ensued, lest anything should lead to a knowledge of his connection with a 'rebel.'

Such tendencies and habits made it not very likely that Teeling would be one of the earliest victims to the awful penalties of high treason. He was even accustomed to restrain the more excitable temper of his brother Charles; and when 'the coming events began to cast their shadows before,' he used, with a melancholy foreboding, in allusion to the dark fate of the hero of Shenstone's beautiful ballad, familiarly to term him 'Jamie Dawson.'

There was much in Teeling's external circumstances which, combined with his general disposition and mental culture, was calculated, if not to prevent his adoption of the republican principles which prevailed at this period in the province of Ulster, at least considerably to modify their sternness. On his mother's side his connections were all thorough royalists. This lady was the sister of the late

Mr. Taafe, of Smarmore Castle, who was the representative, I believe, of that branch of the family who held the earldom of Carlingford under the dynasty of the Stuarts, and whose sons still possess extensive estates in the counties of Louth and Meath.

I must now say a word or two of the excellent mother of Teeling—not so much because of the well-formed opinion that almost all distinguished men inherit their characteristics rather from the mother than from the father, as because I myself have the liveliest recollection of the amiable and endearing qualities of this venerated being; of her ardent piety; of her active benevolence; of her cheerful spirit; and her most graceful presence. While she was still a child, she had been seen by him who was to be her husband, and who, struck with her girlish beauty, had resolved 'to wait for her.' She consequently, at the very earliest age, united her fate to his, and, at the end of fifty years, during which they journeyed together through all the vicissitudes of life,

> In all their wanderings round this world of care,
> In all their griefs, and they had had their share,

the romance of this early attachment continued fresh and unabated. The contrast, perhaps, of her bright and buoyant spirit, with the stern and unbending one of the haughty politician I have alluded to, was more calculated to give endurance to their love than the most perfect similarity could have done; and to the last hour of her existence she was the pride and idol of her family.

It was a matter of astonishment how she contrived, after the severe trials she had met with, to push the badges of grief away from her, in the society of those she loved, and to enter into the sports of her grandchildren, as mirthful as the youngest of them. She was proud of her high birth, and used to recount to her grandchildren the bright deeds of her ancestors—the loyal efforts of the noble commander of the Irish forces ; of the unhappy Charles ; and the heroic defence of her castle, by the Lady Cathleen, against the ruthless Cromwell and his adventurers.

But she scarcely ever touched upon the untimely fate of her own sons, slaughtered or scattered over the world. Once only did I hear her mention her gallant son, or allude to his dark fate, and then came a gush of anguish, which showed, indeed, the sources of her grief were far from being dried up ; but, as I have already said, she turned from her own woes to alleviate those of others, and to spread joy around.

Teeling's personal associates, in his own province, were all of the dominant party, and many of the military profession. There was an encampment at that time at Blaris-Moor, in the immediate vicinity of his father's house, at which the officers of the several regiments were frequent guests and visitors. A close intimacy with many of them and friendship with a few was the consequence of his relationship, and this intimacy and friendship endured, under circumstances well calculated to try

their value. When the French army surrendered at Ballinamuck, there were several British officers on the field who were personally acquainted with Teeling, yet none of them gave the slightest mark of recognition, or any intimation whatever to the authorities, that the French general's aide-de-camp was a British subject.

The part of Bartholomew Teeling in the forthcoming struggle was early resolved upon ; and not with the moderate and peaceable majority of the society to which he became attached, had he any thought of ameliorating the condition of his country by constitutional reforms ; but with the more resolute and aspiring few, he aimed at the total subversion of English power in Ireland.

His first step was to make himself perfectly acquainted with her resources ; with her capabilities of entering upon and maintaining an internal war ; with the intellectual and physical qualities, the habits and the manners of her people ; with their wants and their endurance, their hopes and their resolves, as well as with the natural features of the country—her rivers, her coasts, and her harbours ; and to effect this he had to travel the whole island on foot before he had reached the age of manhood.

It must have been very soon after his return from this tour that he became a United Irishman ; for he shortly went to reside (for the purpose, it appears, of extending the ' Union ' throughout the southern counties) with a friend to whom he was much attached,

the late John Byrne, of Worcester, a gentleman of large fortune, who having spent some years in Lisburn, for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the linen trade, had built extensive bleaching mills on the banks of the Dundalk river, as well as a handsome residence, on which he and Teeling bestowed the significant appellation of 'United Lodge.'

Still in pursuance of his object, and before final preparations had been made for insurrection in Ireland, he embarked for France, and entered the army of the Republic under the name of Beron. His brother is under the impression that he served a campaign under General Hoche, and the family were fortunate enough to recover, and still carefully preserve, a highly valued token of the friendship and esteem in which he was held by that illustrious hero.

He paid one visit to Ireland (in disguise of course) prior to his final return to it with the French army; and whether or not he had any express mission, there can be little doubt of what the object of this visit was, or the account to which he turned it. He made no attempt to see any of his own family; but he entered into close communication with the United Irish leaders, and impressed upon the minds of all he met the necessity of a speedy rising in Ireland. The talent and energy which he displayed in negotiation made him endeared and respected by all; but he seems to have especially won upon the confidence and affection of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who became attached to him with all the ardour of his fine nature. *I am*

inclined to think there was another of the Geraldines, too, who took some interest in the fate of the young soldier. I saw a ring, which was presented to him by one of them, on the occasion, probably, of this visit. It is a plain gold hoop, and characters are inscribed upon it, which perhaps lost nothing of the magic they possessed in those days, that they seem to have been traced by the hand of no dexterous engraver.

'Erin go Bragh'

is upon the outside; and within, there have been since somewhat more carefully inscribed, 'his name and life's brief date'; and this it is which most of all, in the estimation of the present possessor, gives to this little relic a price beyond rubies.

He wore it the night previous to his execution, when he sent it to his brother as the dearest pledge he had to leave of fraternal love.

This visit took place in the autumn of 1797; and while we have no record of the more important transactions in which he was engaged, we find him in the following November in Paris, with Tone and a few other Irishmen, including his own early friends and immediate political associates, Lowry and Tennant, entertaining the French generals. 'Our dinner,' says Tone, in his lively journal, 'was superb, and everything went off very well.'

[Up to this point the narrative was written by B. Teeling, barrister-at-law, nephew to the subject of this memoir.]

Bartholomew Teeling accompanied Humbert to Ireland on the fatal expedition which reached the bay of Killala on August 22, 1798. He held the rank of captain in the French service, and was appointed aide-de-camp to Humbert at the departure of the expedition from France. He accompanied his general to Ballina, who marched from Killala with about 800 men (leaving 200 to garrison the latter place), and on August 27 was present at the battle of Castlebar.

Charles Teeling, in his 'Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion,' describes the force under Humbert as less than 800; that under Lieut.-General Lake 6,000, with 18 pieces of cannon. After the defeat and rout of the latter force, Charles Teeling states, his brother was despatched by Humbert with an escort and flag of truce, bearing proposals to the commander of the British troops. On coming up with the retreating army, the flag was fired on, the escort slain, and the officer made prisoner. After many refusals of access to General Lake, and repulsed proposals to the prisoner to communicate with officers of inferior rank, he was at length admitted to the presence of the English general. The tenor of his message was an anxious desire, on the part of the French general-in-chief, to put a stop to the effusion of blood, and an offer of honourable terms of capitulation to General Lake and the troops under his command. Lake received the message with sullen choler, and observed to the bearer of it: 'You, sir, are an Irish-

man; I shall treat you as a rebel. Why have you been selected by General Humbert on this occasion?' Teeling replied, he was selected in order to convey the proposed terms in language which General Lake understood; and with regard to his menace, 'General Lake could not be ignorant he had left with the French many British officers, prisoners at Castlebar.' Lake retired, and in a short time General Hutchinson came forward, and apologised for the conduct of the troops, and the treatment the bearer of the proposals had met with, and begged it might be attributed to the laxity of discipline at a moment of great excitement. Teeling was then sent back, having declined an escort of British troops to convey him beyond the lines, stating that he would trust to General Hutchinson's honour for his protection; whereupon the latter said he would be his escort, and he accordingly accompanied him along the British line.

'Humbert (continues Charles Teeling) was enraged at the intelligence of the murder of the escort, and the imprisonment of his officer, and spoke of reprisals; but Teeling pacified him, and persuaded him eventually to liberate several of the British officers who were in his power.'

On the occasion of Teeling's return to Castlebar, Humbert, in acknowledging his services, observed that he owed his life to him that day in the engagement. Teeling's bravery in the field was not more conspicuous than his humanity subsequently to the engagement, in rescuing numbers of persons from

the hands of the insurgent peasantry, and saving the houses and property of the obnoxious gentry from plunder and devastation.

Teeling was strongly impressed with the impolicy of Humbert's delay at Castlebar; he repeatedly pressed him to follow up his success, before the army, advancing under the command of Cornwallis, should effect a junction with Lake's forces.

The next account we find of Teeling, is of his distinguished bravery at the battle of Ballinamuck, on August 8, where he fought hand to hand by the side of Humbert, till the French were borne down by an army whose numbers exceeded theirs in a far greater proportion than they did at the previous battle of Castlebar.

After the surrender of the French army, a cartel was concluded for the exchange of prisoners, under which, Humbert and the residue of his force was to proceed to France; but no stipulation was made specially for the Irish officers who accompanied Humbert, or terms of any kind for the unfortunate people who had joined the French standard. Teeling was among the prisoners who had surrendered at Ballinamuck. His person was identified; he was set apart from the French prisoners, and claimed as a British subject by General Lake. Humbert ineffectually remonstrated, and demanded his officer in the name of the French Government. He said, that had he known that such a claim would have been made, before he would have surrendered his officer, 'he

should have perished in the midst of them ; he would have had a rampart of French bayonets around him.'

Humbert insisted on accompanying his aide-de-camp, and was permitted to do so as far as Longford. He remained one night in Longford jail with Teeling, and then was ordered to proceed to Dublin. In a few days the former was removed to the capital to be tried by court-martial, and in the interim was imprisoned in the Provost in the Royal Barracks, in the charge of Major Sandys.

The following account of the trial of Teeling is taken from the 'Irish Monthly Register' of October, 1798 :

'The court having met at twelve o'clock, the prisoner, Mr. Teeling, was brought forward, and presented a form of affidavit, which stated the necessity of certain persons from the town of Castlebar, and of the French General Humbert, to attend as witnesses on his part, and requiring time until these could be produced. This affidavit he professed himself ready to subscribe to.

'The court having been cleared for the purpose of consulting on this application, remained closed for some time. On the re-admission of strangers, the Judge-Advocate declared that no decision had been formed on the subject of their conference ; but that after the evidence for the prosecution had been gone through, it would then be a proper season to determine whether the application of the prisoner was such

as could be complied with. The court having accordingly proceeded to hear evidence,

'William Coulson was called for the purpose, as explained by the Judge-Advocate, of identifying the person of Mr. Teeling, and proving the fact of his being a natural-born subject of the King, and of assuming a different name. This, however, was rendered unnecessary by Mr. Teeling candidly acknowledging that he had been born in Ireland, but on entering the service of France adopted the name of Beron. He made this acknowledgment, he said, in order to save any trouble to the court, that was not connected with a manly and honest defence of himself.

'Michael Burke was then sworn. This witness deposed that he went to Castlebar on August 31, where he saw the prisoner, who told him that he came with the French; that he saw him act as a French officer under the command of General Humbert; that the prisoner told the witness he fled from this country fourteen months ago, in consequence of an order having been issued by Government for putting him to death; that he blamed the gentlemen of that neighbourhood, and censured their inactivity and tardiness in coming forward with their assistance, and that they should do so although the soldiery should burn their houses; adding that his place in the North had been burned by the army. The witness further deposed that he was in Castlebar from Friday until the Tuesday following, during which time he saw a consider-

able number of pikes fabricated for the purpose of arming the rebels who should assist the French. From Castlebar he accompanied the French as far as Coloony, where he took occasion to quit them previous to the action which took place there between the enemy and the King's forces. Being asked what brought him to Castlebar, he replied, that he went there for the purpose of obtaining information for Government. He was then asked why he did not quit the French sooner, if his motive for joining them was such as he professed, and to this he answered that he was detained by the difficulty of getting a pass from the persons empowered to give them. He deposed that it was principally through Mr. Teeling, and the other gentlemen who spoke English, that the French commander-in-chief had issued his orders, and that those gentlemen saw these orders executed; and he concluded his direct evidence by the voluntary declaration, that while he was witness of it, the conduct of the prisoner at Castlebar, and on the way to Coloony, was most exemplary.

'The Judge-Advocate, having here read the minutes of the evidence, asked the prisoner if he wished to interrogate the witness, by way of cross-examination.

'Mr. Teeling replied, that he merely wished the witness to explain what he meant by his (the prisoner's) exemplary conduct.

'To this the witness, in explanation, said that enormities had been committed by the rebels against

a certain description of people, which, when complained of, they endeavoured to excuse by saying that they had only injured Protestants; on which Mr. Teeling warmly exclaimed, that he knew of no difference between a Protestant and a Catholic, nor should any be allowed; and that, as far as he could, he would not suffer persons of any sect to be injured; and the witness further added, that the prisoner constantly and zealously interfered in preventing the excesses to which the rebels were inclined.

'The witness having been further questioned as to his motives for apparently joining the French army, he said that he proceeded from Loughrea, the place of his residence, to Castlebar, voluntarily, and of his own accord, to obtain information for the Government of the state of the enemy; that he was taken prisoner by a party of rebels at Hollymount, but, on affecting to be an United Irishman, he was permitted to go on to Castlebar. On arriving there, and professing attachment to the invaders, he was appointed a secretary to take returns of men and arms, composing the rebel force, but he never exercised the duties of the office.

'Mr. Teeling here briefly addressed the court, and again urged the necessity which existed for the attendance of General Humbert, and the persons from Castlebar and the county Mayo, in order to support his defence. He also represented that his agent was obliged to attend the assizes of Armagh, and, under all these circumstances, requested such

indulgence in point of time as would enable him to obviate those difficulties that lay in the way of his defence.

'The Judge-Advocate answered that, as to the presence of General Humbert, it was out of the question, as he was not within the jurisdiction of the court, but that the letter written by General Humbert to the president of the court, and which, in the opinion of the court, contained everything in favour of the prisoner that could result from a personal examination, without the risk of being weakened by a cross-examination, would be admitted as evidence in his favour, and transmitted, with the minutes of the trial, to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant. With respect to the other persons, to admit the necessity of their attendance would be to produce a delay, operating against the purposes of speedy justice, for which courts-martial were especially constituted. If the attendance of those persons was to go to the merits of the case, the court would certainly feel itself bound to pay attention to the application relative to them ; but there appeared nothing to justify a conclusion that the evidence of those persons would be any other than palliative, and in this respect their testimony, however respectable those persons might be, must fall infinitely short of that which the witness for the prosecution had already voluntarily given in favour of the prisoner, and who proved that the conduct of Mr. Teeling had been such as even to challenge the approbation of a person, whose examination of

that conduct had been made with a hostile intention.

'The prisoner repeated his desire not to give the court unnecessary trouble, and acknowledged that the evidence of the persons at Castlebar was merely intended as palliative.

'The Judge-Advocate again said, that no evidence could come so strongly before that court in favour of the prisoner, as that which had been given by the witness already examined; adding that if Mr. Teeling wished to address anything to the court in the way of defence, the court was ready to attend to him.

'The prisoner said that if it was inconvenient to the court to adjourn to Saturday, he would make his defence to-morrow; but if their indulgence would extend the period of his defence to the day following, he would be in a state of better preparation.

'To this the Judge-Advocate replied, that the adjournment of the court would not affect him, for he need not be brought up again until Saturday.

'The court then adjourned.

'The court having met at twelve o'clock, the prisoner, Mr. Teeling, was brought up to make his defence, which he read from a written paper to the following effect:

'"Mr. President,—I know I am addressing a court of soldiers, and men of honour; my case is short. I feel that my defence ought to be simple and concise. I shall confine myself to the suggestion, and

the suggestion only, of a very few matters ; fully persuaded that if they have weight, they will not be without effect, however unadorned and unenforced.

'"I am accused of high treason. Permit me, sir, with the most profound respect, to observe how many and great the advantages are, which the regular laws of this country give to every man under such a charge, which I would have if tried before the ordinary tribunals which are now open, and to which I am amenable, and which I cannot have here ; and permit me just to submit to you how far it is agreeable to your constitution, in a case of life, to decide upon me in an extraordinary and summary way, and whether such trial can be had according to law. To me, sir, this question cannot be unimportant. To the members of this honourable court, I presume to think, that, as a point of constitutional liberty, it is infinitely more important than it could be as merely regarding the fate of a single individual. Sir, I am accused of treason as an Irish subject. I admit I was born an Irishman, but I had for a considerable time relinquished my connection with this country, and became the subject of another, where I embraced the profession of a soldier, in which I need scarcely observe to this honourable court, that it was my duty to obey the orders of my superiors without the privilege of inquiry ; and that any disobedience of them must have been followed by infamy and death. In obedience to such an order, which you will see contained

no intimation whatever of the object of the expedition, I repaired to La Rochelle, embarked with my general as his aide-de-camp, and was landed in Ireland. You will decide, sir, whether I can fairly be considered as an Irish subject, deliberately rebelling against the state of which he was a member, or joining an invader as a traitor against that state. That I acted as a French officer I admit, nor do I fear it can prejudice me in a court of soldiers, to say that I did my duty to the utmost of my power. I did what I conceived my duty. I did not desert my post. I did not endeavour, as a conscious traitor, to save myself by flight. I did not endeavour to waste unnecessary blood by fruitless resistance.

"I surrendered upon the confidence of being treated as a prisoner of war. To that privilege of the conquered, the general under whom I served, and to whom I immediately belonged, has put in a claim in his own and in my behalf; to that privilege, sir, permit me, with great respect, to repeat my pretension. It is with you, sir, and this honourable court, to decide upon it. One word more, sir, and I have done. The witness against me said that my conduct was exemplary in discountenancing all religious antipathy, and all violence and injury to individuals; perhaps it scarcely becomes me to claim any merit upon such a ground as that. Certainly I did not pursue that conduct under any idea that it might thereafter give me a claim to that mercy which I was then ready to extend, merely because I felt that I

ought not to abuse the power which I had of withholding it, and because I had learned, as a Roman Catholic, that every man was my fellow-Christian. Sir, I shall trouble you no further ; I have no further case, and I have no witnesses to examine. I feel gratefully the humanity I have found at your hands. I know the high character of the great personage in whose breast my fate may, perhaps, find its final decision. To you, sir, and to him, if it shall so happen, I do submit that fate ; and whether it shall be life or death, I shall await it with that confidence which becomes a man who has no doubt that his sentence can be neither unjust nor unmerciful." '

'*Humbert, General Chief, Commanding in the French Army, to the President of the Court-Martial.*

'Sir,—I wrote some days ago to Lord Cornwallis, relative to the generous conduct that has been observed by my aide-de-camp, Teeling, since he came into your country.

'I dare to hope, sir, that he will pay attention to my letter, and that he will not leave you ignorant of the particulars of it.

'I proceed myself to put you in possession of them, well persuaded that you will regard them.

'Teeling, by his bravery and generous conduct, has prevented in all the towns through which we have passed, the insurgents from proceeding to most cruel excesses. Write to Killala, to Ballina, to Castle-

bar ; there does not live an inhabitant who will not render him the greatest justice. This officer is commissioned by my Government ; and all these considerations, joined to his gallant conduct towards your people, ought to impress much in his favour. I flatter myself that the proceedings in your court will be favourable to him, and that you will treat him with the greatest indulgence.

'I am, with respect,

'HUMBERT.

'On board the "Van Tromp" (September 18, 1798).'

Here the trial closed, and the court after some deliberation found the prisoner guilty, and sentenced him to death, with a recommendation to mercy. The minutes were in the usual way laid before the Lord-Lieutenant, and by him the sentence was approved. Teeling's conduct previous to and at the time of execution was marked by a strength of mind and fortitude seldom met with.

'Walker's Hibernian Magazine,' a timid and servile periodical of that day, gives the following particulars of his conduct at the place of execution: 'He conducted himself, on the awful occasion, with a fortitude impossible to be surpassed, and scarcely to be equalled. Neither the intimation of his fate, nor the near approach of it, produced on him any diminution of courage. With firm step and unchanged countenance he walked from the prevot to the place of execution, and conversed with an unaffected ease

while the dreadful apparatus was preparing. With the same strength of mind and body he ascended the eminence. He then requested permission to read a paper which he held in his hand. He was asked by the officer, whose immediate duty it was, whether it contained anything of a strong nature? He replied that it did, on which permission to read it was refused, and Mr. Teeling silently acquiesced in the restraint put on his last moments. . . .'

Thus perished on the scaffold Bartholomew Teeling, in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

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